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ABSTRACT

As part of a 3-year study of the implementation of the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Program, front-line workers were surveyed in all 10 states and in 29 of 30 sites included in the overall study. Their perceptions of the agencies' organizational environments suggested a rather lukewarm agency context for implementing JOBS. Workers strongly supported JOBS goals of promoting client self-sufficiency, wanted a stronger emphasis placed on JOBS within their agencies, and expressed a strong interest in further training related to JOBS. Only half thought JOBS would be helpful to their clients. Inadequate funding for education and training services and lack of available employment opportunities were considered significant barriers to JOBS implementation. Workers believed agencies placed a greater emphasis on client opportunities under JOBS than on client obligation to participate. They spent the greatest percentage of time in direct contact with clients, but spent an almost equal amount of time completing required data entry or other paper work. During the assessment process, workers attended to the client's educational skills, child care needs, and prior work experience. They believed the supply of most education, training, and employment services in their communities was adequate to serve JOBS participants. Eleven data tables are included. (Contains 24 references.) (YLB)

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IMPLEMENTING JOBS:

THE PERSPECTIVE OF FRONT-LINE WORKERS

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and
Ling Wang

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IMPLEMENTING JOBS: THE PERSPECTIVE OF FRONT-LINE WORKERS

Jan L. Hagen, Irene Lurie, and Ling Wang

JOBS Implementation Study

The Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government
State University of New York
Albany, New York

June 1, 1993

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Purpose

As part of a three-year, ten-state study on the implementation of the JOBS program being conducted by the Rockefeller Institute of Government, we surveyed front-line workers to enrich our analysis of the local implementation of the JOBS program. This survey supplements the field network research being carried out as part of this study. By including the front-line workers' perceptions of how policies were implemented in local agencies and how resources were made available to provide services to clients, we sought to add another perspective to understanding the implementation of the JOBS program.

Background

The Family Support Act of 1988 introduced new legislation for welfare employment programs through its provisions for the Job Opportunity and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) and associated child care services. The JOBS program has been envisioned as a way to foster the economic self-sufficiency of AFDC parents, primarily mothers, so they may financially support themselves and their children.

The level of discretion retained by front-line workers in fulfilling their service delivery functions requires that we carefully consider their roles in, and perspectives on, implementing the JOBS program for several reasons. First, as gatekeepers to the agencies' JOBS programs, front-line workers convey to clients information about their rights, obligations, and opportunities under the JOBS program. Second, as brokers of services, front-line workers are often among those most keenly aware of what employment, education, and training services as well as supportive services are in fact available to their client population. Third, the attitudes of front-line workers towards the JOBS programs and their perceptions of its value may influence the types and nature of the services received by clients.

Methods

We surveyed front-line workers in all ten states and in 29 of the 30 sites included in the overall study of JOBS implementation. The states selected for inclusion in the study were Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. Thirty local sites, three in each state, were selected for

examining the implementation of the JOBS program on the local level. All the local sites selected for the overall study except the South Bronx in New York City were included in the survey of front-line workers. We used a self-administered questionnaire distributed in the fall of 1991 to collect information from front-line workers. The response rate was 68.7 percent. The survey's limitations stem from its reliance on a self-administered questionnaire, purposive selection of sites, and geographic restrictions.

Findings: The Organizational and Environmental Context for Implementing JOBS

The front-line workers responsible for the delivery of services in the JOBS programs included in this study were experienced, fairly well educated, but relatively low paid human service workers who were charged with fulfilling multiple responsibilities within their agencies. The workers' perceptions of the agencies' organizational environments did not suggest a setting of overwhelming support for either clients or workers in the JOBS program. Overall, the findings suggest a rather "lukewarm" agency context for implementing the JOBS program. There was no sense of an enthusiastic response among the agencies to the implementation of JOBS. In part, this may be explained by the relatively few changes some states had to make to come into compliance with the federal legislation because they had well developed welfare employment programs prior to the enactment of the JOBS program.

Do front-line workers support the JOBS program? Workers strongly supported the JOBS goals of promoting client self-sufficiency; they clearly wanted a stronger emphasis placed on the JOBS program within their agencies; and they expressed a strong interest in further in-service training related to the JOBS program, particularly in terms of accessing local education, employment, and training services.

However, their assessment of how well the JOBS program was doing was also only "lukewarm": only half of the workers thought the JOBS program would be helpful to their clients. This evaluation of the program's effectiveness may be explained in part by what workers considered to be significant barriers to JOBS implementation: inadequate funding for education and training services and the lack of available employment opportunities. From a front-line worker's vantage point, inadequate funding for services may limit the ability to purchase services and thus restrict the range and types of education, training, and employment services they are able to offer clients in the JOBS program. Additionally, limitations on service availability may skew the assessment

process itself by restricting it to a consideration of information relevant to a narrow range of service options.

The other major barrier to implementing the JOBS program, according to workers, was the lack of employment opportunities in the community. And this barrier was more likely to be noted by workers in small rural communities, some of which had exceptionally high unemployment rates at the time of the study. The introduction of the JOBS program and its emphasis on preparing clients for economic self-sufficiency through increased participation in the labor force coincided with a period of economic recession and increasing rates of unemployment nationally. The perception of limited employment opportunities in the local community would lead workers to a cautious projection about the overall success of the agencies' JOBS programs.

At times, front-line workers must confront a serious dilemma. On the one hand, they are charged with encouraging clients to participate in the JOBS program and to take advantage of the various education and training services available to them so that they may reduce their economic dependency on welfare. On the other hand, the realities of the labor market caution restraint in holding out high expectations for their clients' employment possibilities, at least in the short term.

We were also interested in the workers' perceptions of the agencies' general approach to fostering client participation in the JOBS program. Is the emphasis on clients' obligations to participate or on the opportunities available to clients through the JOBS program? While the findings reflect a continuing tension between these two approaches, agencies appeared to place a somewhat greater emphasis on client opportunities under the JOBS program. The workers themselves thought it far more important to emphasize the opportunities available to clients under the JOBS program than to emphasize the clients' obligation to participate.

Findings: The Workers' Functional Roles

While workers perceived themselves as having good relationships with clients and as making an important difference in their clients' lives, workers also had to manage large caseloads, on average 164 cases. For case managers, the average was 106 cases. The size of these caseloads raises a number of questions regarding the multiple responsibilities assigned to workers in handling these cases. Workers did spend the greatest percentage of the time in direct contact with clients; however, they spent an almost equal amount of time completing required data entry or other paper work. An important consideration in operating JOBS

programs is the appropriate balance between system demands for information and the clients' needs for services.

Those designated as case managers also confronted high caseloads and high demands for data reporting as well as tasks associated with monitoring client participation. While there were exceptions, generally the roles of case managers were primarily those of brokering services and monitoring client participation. Although case management was envisioned as an opportunity to provide more intensive services to clients, the current demands on case managers severely limit their ability to meet this expectation, and their ability to provide case management services is seriously compromised, particularly the more intangible but nonetheless important function of providing clients with on-going assistance in problem-solving and with support and encouragement in on-going program participation. The importance of this function is underscored by the finding that, in the workers' view, the loss of client motivation and problems related to child care and transportation were major reasons for client "drop-out." On-going support and encouragement combined with timely assistance in solving child care and transportation problems might help reduce the number of clients who discontinue participation in the JOBS program.

Some of the widest variation across states was found in the assessment process. The findings suggest that, during the assessment, workers in all states attend to the client's educational skills, their child care needs, and their prior work experience. Other factors that might impinge on a client's ability to participate in the JOBS program or on the development of an appropriate service plan received less attention. Overall, workers reported giving relatively little attention to the needs of children, other than child care, and the assessment process was generally not viewed as an opportunity to potentially address the health needs of poor children. While there were encouraging exceptions, these findings suggest that the potential for operating a two-generational preventive program under the JOBS program is not as yet being extensively initiated.

In general, the findings suggest that workers did not perceive major constraints in locating child care providers. However, workers in small, more rural communities viewed the supply of child care providers as an issue in serving JOBS participants. In some areas, this concern was compounded by the lack of available transportation or the lack of funding for transportation. Without transportation, the child care provider may be available but not accessible to the client and her child. The findings also suggest that in most agencies, the preference is for clients to make use of

more formal child care services, but clients are encouraged to make their own arrangements for child care services. Whether this reflects a strong commitment to parental choice combined with services to help a client choose care or a more general lack of assistance in arranging child care was unclear. However, with the exception of states in which child care management systems were introduced in conjunction with the JOBS program, the use of child care resource and referral agencies was somewhat limited. Thus, in many instances, any assistance with child care arrangements must be provided by the JOBS workers.

The findings indicate that, from the perspective of the front-line workers, the supply of most education, training, and employment services in their communities was adequate to serve JOBS participants at the time of the study. Front-line workers perceived most education and training services offered under JOBS as being available within their communities. Occasionally limited slots were noted for work experience, job development and placement services, and programs for English as a second language. The availability of on-the-job training and work supplementation programs was severely limited.

In evaluating the workers' perceptions of service adequacy, one must remember this point: at the time of the study, the federal participation rate for the JOBS program was only seven percent of the non-exempt AFDC caseload. For many states in this study, meeting this rate of participation was not a major challenge because they already had well developed welfare employment programs. Additionally, in states with relatively new welfare employment programs, clients were only beginning to flow into the JOBS program, and many were at the assessment and employability planning stage rather than assigned to a particular educational, training, or employment activity. Finally, workers may well be "fitting" clients to those services that are readily available in their communities rather than exploring a wider range of education and training activities that may more appropriately meet the needs and preferences of their clients. In effect, workers may well have been drawing on services, particularly education, readily available in their communities at the time of the study, but those services were being accessed by a relatively small portion of potential JOBS participants and may not have been the services most appropriate to meet the education and training needs of their clients.

Conclusion

As a group that strongly supports the goals of the federal legislation, front-line workers represent a potentially significant resource for realizing those goals. But to enable them to serve their clients effectively,

agencies must be willing to invest in the workers. Many of these workers are relatively low paid, particularly given the complex nature of their work. Additionally, and more immediately related to the implementation of the JOBS program, these workers are interested in further in-service training about all aspects of the JOBS program and methods for working more effectively with clients. These needs for training can be met with relatively low investments of resources.

Agencies and their funding bodies also need to invest in funding for education, training, and employment services under the JOBS program so that workers indeed have opportunities to offer potential JOBS participants. The workers' concerns about inadequate funding for JOBS services are shared by many other observers. Without sufficient funding, the availability, the quality, and the appropriateness of services may be compromised under the JOBS program. As more clients move into service components and the federally mandated rates of participation rise, demands to locate services for clients may soon exceed the capacity of local community agencies to respond if more funding for services is not secured.

An examination of the workers' perspective on JOBS implementation serves to identify areas of both strength and weakness in existing programs. As gatekeepers to JOBS programs across the country and as brokers of services, front-line workers have an understanding of the daily operations of a complex program. Their perspective on welfare employment programs merits additional attention as these programs continue to evolve.

INTRODUCTION

The Family Support Act of 1988 introduced new legislation for welfare employment programs through its provisions for the Job Opportunity and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) and associated child care services. The JOBS provisions have been envisioned as a way to foster the economic self-sufficiency of AFDC parents, primarily mothers, so they may financially support themselves and their children. As such, the JOBS program may be considered an agent of institutional change—a signal to welfare agencies that they should take on a mission and character that more heavily emphasizes services intended to promote self-sufficiency and reduce welfare dependency. In essence, the aim of the JOBS legislation is to convert what in the most recent past were predominantly cash assistance programs into employment and training service systems (Rovner, 1988). A major administrative challenge presented by the JOBS program is to change the culture of the welfare organization from an emphasis on financial support and fiscal accuracy to an emphasis on service delivery. Or, as Kosterlitz (1989, p. 2943) described the challenge: "States are struggling to get welfare officials to act more like social workers and less like accountants."

To be meaningful, this change in organizational culture must affect the attitudes, roles, and functions of front-line workers who are charged with carrying out the complex tasks associated with the JOBS program. The level of discretion retained by front-line workers in fulfilling their service delivery functions requires that we carefully consider their roles in implementing the JOBS program.

Front-line workers are in a unique position to assess several important dimensions of JOBS implementation. First, as gatekeepers to the agencies' JOBS programs, they convey to clients information about their rights, obligations, and opportunities under the program. Second, as brokers of services, front-line workers are often among those most keenly aware of what employment, education, and training services as well as supportive services are needed and what services are in fact available to their client population. As a result of their interactions with other agencies, either directly or indirectly through their client referrals, the front-line workers are in a strong position to assess the availability, accessibility, and quality of services as well as the degree of interagency linkage. Although there have been previous studies on the roles and functions of front-line workers in public welfare (e.g., Hagen, 1987, 1989; Hagen & Wang, forthcoming; and Wyers, 1981), studies on the

workers' perspectives on welfare employment programs have been limited, in part because of the recent introduction of these programs. An important contribution to this area of inquiry has been made by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) in its multi-year study of California's welfare employment program, which included the workers' perspective on significant issues related to program implementation (Riccio et al., 1989).

As part of a three-year, ten-state study on the implementation of the JOBS program being conducted under the auspices of the Rockefeller Institute of Government, we surveyed front-line workers to further enrich our analysis of the local implementation of the JOBS program. The survey of front-line workers supplements the field network research undertaken as part of this study to examine the process of state and local implementation of the JOBS program. Findings from the first round of field network research focused on the initial phases of JOBS implementation at the state level (Hagen & Lurie, 1992b). Findings from the second round of research focusing on local implementation during the summer of 1991 will be presented in other reports from this project. The final round of field research, conducted during the summer of 1992, assessed the changes made in the JOBS program as the states and local agencies gained experience with the program and came under increasing pressure from the federal mandates to serve more AFDC recipients in their JOBS programs. By including the front-line workers' perceptions of how policies were implemented at the local level, we sought to add another perspective in understanding the implementation of the JOBS program.

In this report, we present findings from the survey of front-line workers which describe who, in fact, provides services to JOBS participants. We also present the findings on the workers' attitudes and perceptions of the agency context for the JOBS program; the provision of services to JOBS participants; the availability of education, training, and employment services; factors affecting client participation; and barriers to implementation. Further analysis of these data that integrates the findings from both the survey of front-line workers and the field network research will be presented in other reports.

METHODS

We surveyed front-line workers in all ten states and in 29 of the 30 sites included in the overall JOBS implementation study. The states selected for inclusion in the study were Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. In choosing these states, we tried to select states that illustrated a range of experiences in implementing JOBS. We selected states that provided diversity in such characteristics as prior experience with welfare employment programs, level of fiscal stress expected in 1990, poverty rate, per capita income, and the program's organization structure, i.e., state-administered or county-administered welfare system (table 1). Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Pennsylvania all had introduced and developed welfare employment programs during the 1980s and required only relatively minor adjustments in those programs to comply with the Family Support Act and the JOBS legislation. Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas had operated demonstration programs under the Work Incentive Program during the 1980s, but they had not introduced major welfare employment programs prior to the JOBS program and faced the challenge of developing these programs. (For further information, see Hagen & Lurie, 1992b.)

Thirty local sites, three in each state, were selected for examining the implementation of the JOBS program on the local level. Again, in selecting the local sites, we tried to examine programs with a range of experiences with the JOBS program. To achieve this diversity, we used a number of criteria in site selection, including the size of the AFDC caseload and the geographic location within the state. In addition, we chose sites that would broadly reflect the fiscal and economic conditions within the state. Within each state, we selected a site that represented a larger, more urban location, a site that reflected a mid-sized city within the state, and a site that represented a small or rural community. In geographic areas with multiple welfare or JOBS offices, we selected only one site. For example, Detroit is served by several centers for JOBS services, but we selected only one center in this geographic area for the study. Additionally, to avoid overlap with the evaluation of the JOBS program being conducted by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, we excluded several sites from consideration, including Grand Rapids, Michigan; Portland, Oregon; and Oklahoma City.

With one exception, we included all the local sites selected for the overall study in the survey of front-line workers. The one site not included

Table 1: Criteria for Selecting States

	Implementation Date	Income Rank	Poverty Rate (percent)	Fiscal Stress
State Administered				
Michigan	7/89	17	14.4	S
Mississippi	10/90	50	25.6	S
Oklahoma	7/89	37	15.5	—
Oregon	10/90	31	12.6	—
Pennsylvania	10/89	21	12.4	S
Tennessee	10/90	38	17.8	S
Texas	10/90	26	16.2	—
State Supervised				
Maryland	7/89	7	8.5	—
Minnesota	7/89	15	11.5	S
New York	10/90	5	15.2	D

Source:

Rank of per capita personal income and poverty rate: National Conference of State Legislatures, State-Local Fiscal Indicators, January 1990, p.86.

Fiscal Stress: Ronald Snell, "The State Fiscal Outlook: 1990 and the Coming Decade," State Legislative Report, Vol. 15, No. 5 (Denver, Colorado: National Conference of State Legislatures, February 1990).

D=Expected Deficit in FY 1990; S=Possible revenue shortfall in FY 1990.

in this study is the South Bronx in New York City. In this instance, we were unable to obtain permission from the union representing front-line workers to distribute the survey to the front-line workers. Completion of the survey instrument was not regarded as part of their job responsibilities.

Defining and "Capturing" Front-line Workers. For the purposes of this study, we defined front-line workers as those who had direct contact with JOBS participants in local JOBS programs. We specifically excluded the supervisors of those workers, unless the supervisor also assumed

major responsibilities for providing direct services. Across the study states, local JOBS programs were operated primarily by public welfare agencies in half the states. In other states, agencies such as the local Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) agency or a community-based organization (CBO) served as a primary or key provider of JOBS services or JOBS child care services. For example, at the time of the study, front-line workers in community action agencies in Mississippi provided case management services for JOBS participants, and the JTPA agency had primary responsibility for arranging JOBS services in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee. Workers with primary JOBS responsibilities in these agencies were included in the study's sample. All front-line workers providing JOBS services in the local sites were invited to participate in the study except those at local sites in Maryland. In Maryland, JOBS services are provided primarily by JTPA workers and two types of public welfare case managers, intensive and transitional managers. All JTPA workers and intensive case managers in the local sites were invited to participate in the study. However, the large number of transitional case managers, particularly in Baltimore City, precluded including all of them for survey participation. As a result, approximately 10 to 15 percent of the transitional case managers were selected for inclusion at each site.

Data Collection. Data were collected using a self-administered questionnaire that was distributed to front-line workers in the 29 local sites in the fall of 1991, approximately one year after the mandated implementation of the JOBS program and shortly after completion of the field network research on the local implementation of the JOBS program. The content of the questionnaire paralleled the study's overall framework for assessing the implementation of the JOBS program. This framework draws on the major provisions of the JOBS legislation as well as variables identified in previous research as important to implementing welfare employment programs. Additionally, we drew directly on the instruments prepared by the Manpower Development Research Corporation in their studies of California's welfare employment program (Riccio et al., 1989).

The questionnaire consisted primarily of closed-ended questions and took approximately 30 minutes to complete. We encouraged all respondents to answer some items in the questionnaire. These items covered such areas as perceptions of the agency work environment, job satisfaction and morale, perceptions of clients, barriers to the implementation of the JOBS program, and in-service training. For other items, however, we requested that only those workers who were responsible for specific functions respond and that others skip the section. These items covered

such areas as assessments and employability plans, case management services, and child care services. We also requested in a separate item that the respondents identify their job responsibilities in terms of AFDC eligibility determinations, case management services for JOBS participants, child care services, and other functions. We used the respondents' self-reported job responsibilities on this item to designate specific types of workers, e.g., case managers, income maintenance or eligibility workers. Participation by respondents was voluntary and responses were anonymous and confidential.

Completed questionnaires were returned by 943 respondents for a response rate of 68.7 percent. Of the total response, 929 were determined to be usable in data analysis. While the total return rate is more than satisfactory, it is interesting to note that the return rates for the three types of local sites varied. The larger city sites had the lowest response rate (61.2 percent) and the rural or small community sites had the highest (83.1 percent). The ten mid-sized city sites had a response rate of 78.2 percent. (Appendix A presents further information on the response rate for each state and local site.)

Given the descriptive nature of this study, we used descriptive statistics to summarize and analyze much of the data. This report focuses on the findings from all respondents. Where we noted a wide range of variation across the states, we have reported this range. More detailed information for responses for each state are provided in the Appendix. Although this was not a random sample, some inferential statistics were used in the interpretation of the findings. Chi square was used most frequently. In selected analyses, particularly those involving time allocations and caseload sizes, we used one-way analysis of variance. These statistics were used for comparisons across the states, comparisons based on community size, and comparisons between case managers and other workers. The significance level for all reported analyses were established at the .05 level.

Study Limitations. The survey's limitations stem primarily from its reliance on a self-administered questionnaire and the purposive selection of local sites. The length of the questionnaire and the possible sensitivity of questions concerning job satisfaction and attitudes toward welfare recipients may have contributed to respondent bias. Additionally, the data are based on the workers' self-evaluations and self-reports and do not measure actual performance. Although the local sites included front-line workers in diverse settings, the sample is geographically limited both across states and within states. It may well not be representative of

front-line workers who serve JOBS participants across the country. Qualifications for these positions, job responsibilities, and work environments varied greatly among local agencies. Comparisons across the states must also be approached with caution because of the small number of responses in some analyses. Within these limitations, however, the study does provide a comprehensive consideration of the front-line workers' perspective on JOBS implementation.

FINDINGS: THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT FOR IMPLEMENTING JOBS

The Respondents

The respondents were primarily women (79.7 percent) with an average age of 38.3 years (table 2). The majority of the respondents were white (58.1 percent), with African Americans and Latinos comprising 37 percent of the sample. African American and Latino respondents were primarily from Maryland, Mississippi, and Texas. More than one-half of the respondents held a bachelor's degree or higher. This varied from state to state and ranged from 26.9 percent in New York to 80.4 percent in Tennessee. The highest level of education reported by 16.2 percent of the respondents was a high school diploma or its equivalent. Almost one-fourth of the respondents reported having previously received welfare benefits.

The respondents tended to be experienced human service workers (table 3). On average, they had worked in human service positions for nine years; almost three-fourths had held human service positions for more than three years. They also had extensive experience in their current agencies (averaging 7.3 years) as well as in their current positions (averaging 4.4 years). Workers in Michigan averaged the longest tenure in both their agencies and their positions, 12 and 9 years respectively. At the time of the survey, 81.4 percent of the respondents were employed by welfare agencies, 9.4 percent by JTPA agencies, and 7.9 percent by CBOs. JTPA respondents were located primarily in Maryland, New York, Oregon, and Texas, and CBO respondents in Minnesota and Tennessee.

One-third of the respondents reported earning an annual salary of $20,000 or less. Annual salaries of between $20,001 and $25,000 were reported by 41.2 percent. Respondents in Mississippi and New York were more likely than respondents in other states to earn $20,000 or less; respondents in Michigan and Pennsylvania were more likely than other respondents to earn more than $25,000. By way of comparison, the average annual earnings for U.S. workers in 1990 was $23,602 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1991).

Table 2: Selected Basic Characteristics of All Respondents (N=929)

Respondent Characteristics	Means/Percentages
Sex (%)	
Male	20.3
Female	79.7
Age (mean)	38.3
Ethnic Background (%)	
Black/African American	31.0
Caucasian	58.1
Hispanic	6.0
Other	4.9
Educational Achievement (%)	
High school	16.2
AA/AS	15.9
BA/BS	46.5
Master's or above	7.4
Other	13.9
Annual Salary (%)	
$10,000 or less	0.6
$10,001-$15,000	6.9
$15,001-$20,000	27.2
$20,001-$25,000	41.2
$25,001-$30,000	18.3
More than $30,000	5.9
Previous Welfare Recipient (%)	
Yes	24.2
No	75.8

Table 3: Selected Employment Characteristics of All Respondents (N=929)

Employment Characteristics	Means/Percentages
Currently Employed by: (%)	
JTPA	9.4
Welfare	81.4
Community Based Organization (CBO)	7.9
Other	1.2
Number of Years Employed by the Agency (mean)	7.3
Number of Years Employed by the Agency (%)	
Less than 1 year	8.3
1 to 3 years	28.9
3 to 5 years	18.2
More than 5 years	44.6
Number of Years Working in the Position (mean)	4.4
Number of Years Working in the Position (%)	
Less than 1 year	16.1
1 to 3 years	41.2
3 to 5 years	18.5
More than 5 years	24.2
Number of Years Working in Human Services Positions (mean) (including the current position)	9.1
Number of Years Working in Human Services Positions (%) (including the current position)	
Less than 1 year	3.4
1 to 3 years	22.1
More than 3 years to 5 years	17.4
More than 5 years	57.1

Table 3: Selected Employment Characteristics of All Respondents (N=929) (continued)

Employment Characteristics	Means/Percentages
Job Responsibilities (% carrying the responsibility)	
AFDC eligibility determinations	69.2
Screening for referral to JOBS program	52.6
Referrals to education, employment, and services	51.3
Monitoring and tracking of client participation	41.4
Assessments for JOBS	33.4
Case management services for JOBS	32.4
Child care services	31.7
Employability plans for JOBS	30.9

Work Responsibilities

As shown in table 3, the front-line workers reported fulfilling multiple responsibilities within their jobs. AFDC eligibility determinations and redeterminations were functions carried out by 69.2 percent of the respondents. One-half were responsible for making referrals to the JOBS program or to education, training, and employment services. About one-third fulfilled responsibilities related to JOBS assessments, employability plans, case management, and child care services.

To study the work responsibilities of front-line workers related directly to client contact, we examined caseload size and composition as well as time allocations. The average monthly caseload for all respondents was 164 cases (table 4). However, caseloads ranged from an average of 80 and 110 in Oklahoma and Oregon to 218 and 279 in Pennsylvania and Mississippi. Higher caseloads were reported by those in mid-sized communities: 192 cases compared to 166 cases in smaller communities and 151 cases in larger metropolitan areas.

Workers estimated that each month, they would have contact, either in person or by phone, with 59.1 percent of the caseload. Not unexpected was the finding that 62 percent believed they had too many clients to do their jobs well. In providing service to their clients, 82.1 percent reported having excellent relationships with most clients and slightly more than

Table 4: Workers' Experience of Caseload and Time Allocation (All Respondents)

Survey Item	Means/Percentages
Monthly Average:	
Overall caseload (mean)	164.0
Percentage of the caseload who are JOBS clients	47.2
Percentage of the caseload who contacted the worker either in person or by phone during an average month	59.1
Percentage of workers who believe they have too many clients to do the job well	62.0
Workers' Weekly Time Allocation: (%)*	
Direct contact with clients in person or by phone	43.3
Required data entry, report completion, and other paperwork	39.2
Direct contact with other staff in the agency	12.6
Collaborative work with other community agencies	6.9

* Exceeds 100% due to rounding.

one-half (53.2 percent) felt they were making an important difference in improving the lives of JOBS clients.

In managing these caseloads, front-line workers spent 43.3 percent of their weekly work time in contact with clients either in person or by phone (table 4). This ranged from 34 percent in Oklahoma and Pennsylvania to 53.5 percent in Texas. Workers reported spending almost as much time doing paperwork. Among all respondents, 39.2 percent of their time was spent in completing required data entry or other paper work. However, responses on this item ranged from 28.9 percent in Texas to 50 percent in Pennsylvania. Given these demands, time spent in contact with other agency staff or in collaborative work with other agencies was limited.

Perceptions of Clients

Drawing directly on MDRC's earlier work on staff attitudes toward welfare recipients (Riccio, 1989, p. 58), we incorporated a series of items into the instrument that allowed responses to be categorized into two

broad perspectives on welfare recipients. One perspective is that the individual recipient is primarily responsible for the situation. An alternative perspective is that receiving welfare is the result of societal or situational problems. A high score on this attitudinal scale indicates that the respondent views the receipt of welfare as primarily the result of societal or situational issues. For example, those with a high score on the scale were more likely to disagree with this statement: many people who apply for welfare would rather be on welfare than work to support their families. Those with a high score were also more likely to agree with this statement: if given appropriate help, many welfare recipients would work hard to become self-supporting. (See Appendix F-1 for the items in the scale.)

Workers in Minnesota (65.7 percent) and Texas (58.1 percent) were more likely to have "high" scores (above the median score) than workers in other states (see Appendix F-2). In contrast, one-third or fewer workers in New York, Mississippi, and Tennessee received "high" scores, indicating that workers in those states were more likely to perceive the receipt of welfare as being the responsibility of the individual welfare recipient rather than as a result of societal or situational problems.

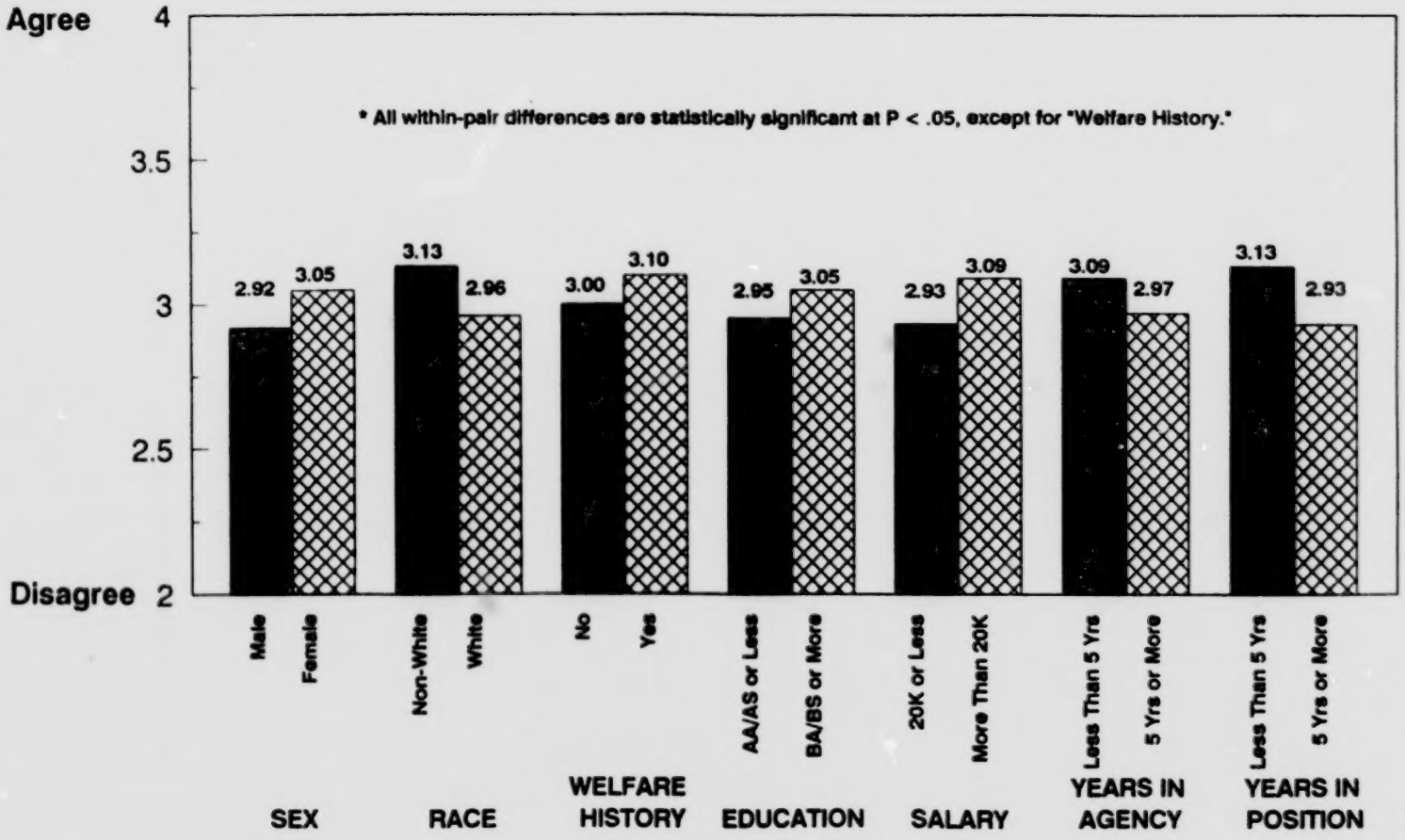
This scale revealed several statistically significant differences among workers in varying settings and with varying responsibilities. One-half (53.4 percent) of the workers in large cities viewed the receipt of welfare as primarily the result of societal or situational problems, compared to 41.8 percent of those in mid-sized communities and 32.6 percent of those in small communities. A greater percentage of workers in CBOs reported sympathetic views of welfare recipients than those in other agencies: 70.5 percent of those in CBOs scored "high" compared to 60 percent in JTPA agencies and 42.4 percent in welfare agencies. Only 38.1 percent of the workers responsible for determining AFDC eligibility scored "high" compared to 68.9 percent of those who were not responsible for eligibility determinations. Further, of those providing case management services, 61.5 percent scored "high" compared to 40.8 percent of those who did not provide this service. These findings suggest that those who provide case management services are more sympathetic to welfare recipients than those who are responsible for eligibility determinations. The trends in these findings are similar to those reported by MDRC (Riccio et al., 1989, p. 58).

Additional analysis of this scale in relationship to workers' characteristics is presented in figure 1. More sympathetic views toward welfare recipients tend to be held by women, people of color, those with a

Figure 1

WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS

"Welfare is the Consequence of Broad Societal or Situational Problems"



bachelor's degree or higher, those earning more than $20,000, and those with less job tenure. A history of being a welfare recipient was not a statistically significant variable in relationship to perceptions of welfare recipients.

Perceptions of the JOBS Program and the Work Environment

To capture the organizational climate for the JOBS program, the survey included a series of items on the views of front-line workers regarding the agency's climate generally as well as the agency's approach to, and emphasis on, the JOBS program. In general, the agency environment was viewed as a somewhat positive one for both workers and clients. Almost one-half of the respondents perceived their agencies as providing a supportive environment for most JOBS clients, and 31.1 percent indicated that the environment was a supportive one for JOBS staff (table 5). Workers in Oregon were particularly likely to characterize the environment as a supportive one. About one-third of the workers in small or mid-sized communities characterized their environment as supportive of JOBS staff compared to one-fourth of those in larger cities. Slightly more than one-half of the front-line workers viewed the staff in their agencies as being likely to go out their way to help clients. Workers in smaller communities were more likely than those in mid-sized or larger communities to believe that staff were likely to go out of their way to help clients (65 percent compared to 57 and 49.8 percent). Relatively few respondents viewed the agency's delivery of services as being dependent on worker assignment or as targeting the more capable clients.

The respondents reported fairly high levels of job satisfaction; 40.4 percent were somewhat satisfied and 13.8 percent were very satisfied. Workers in Oregon reported the highest levels of job satisfaction; three-fourths of the respondents in Oregon indicated being satisfied with their jobs. Workers in mid-sized (61.3 percent) and small communities (62 percent) were more likely than workers in large cities (48.4 percent) to report being satisfied with their jobs. However, among all respondents, 58.4 percent described worker morale within their agencies as being low or very low. Only 10.8 percent reported worker morale as being high or very high.

Perceptions of the organizational climate did vary by position. In general, case managers were more likely than those in other positions to perceive a positive environment for both workers and clients and a greater willingness on the part of workers to extend themselves in serving clients. Case managers also reported higher levels of job satisfaction; 62.7 percent of the case managers reported being satisfied or very satisfied

Table 5: Perception of Work Environment (All Respondents)

Survey Item	Percentages
Characterization of Agency Approach to JOBS	
I feel my agency wants me to set a tough tone with JOBS clients	20.1
In our JOBS program, there is more emphasis on the number of clients served than on the quality of services.	35.9
This agency provides a supportive environment for most clients in the JOBS program.	48.6
This agency provides a supportive environment for staff associated in the JOBS program.	31.1
Characterization of the Agency Climate	
In my agency, most workers are likely to go out of their way to help clients.	54.5
In my agency, what the rules say we should do with clients and what we actually do are two different things.	25.7
In my agency, which services a client gets depends on which staff member she is assigned to.	28.9
To help clients, I frequently have to bend the rules.	10.9
The practice in my agency is to pick out the most capable welfare recipients and give them the best services.	11.6
Overall Job Satisfaction	
Dissatisfied	31.4
Neutral	14.3
Satisfied	54.2
Overall Worker Morale in the Agency	
Low	58.4
Medium	30.8
High	10.8

with their jobs as compared to one-half of the workers in other positions. Case managers also reported somewhat higher levels of worker morale within the agencies. However, one-half (49.5 percent) of the case

managers viewed their agencies as placing more emphasis on the numbers of clients served rather than on the quality of services. This compares to 29.6 percent of the workers in other positions.

Opportunities vs. Obligations. One of the interesting questions regarding the implementation of JOBS has been how agencies would encourage participation by clients in the JOBS program. Would they emphasize the clients' obligations to participate, or would they emphasize the opportunities available to clients through the JOBS program? In this study, 46.2 percent of the front-line workers thought that their agencies emphasized opportunities. Across the states, responses to this item ranged from 29.1 percent in Michigan to 73.8 percent in Tennessee. Among all respondents, 26.1 percent thought their agencies emphasized client obligations; this ranged from 6 percent in Tennessee to 42.6 percent in Pennsylvania. Agency "tone" is another measure of agency approach to client obligations. About one-fifth of the respondents characterized their agencies as setting a tough tone with JOBS clients. Respondents in New York and Oklahoma (38 and 36 percent, respectively) were somewhat more likely than others to characterize their agencies in this way.

Agency Goals. To explore both the agencies' emphasis on goals for the JOBS program as well as the workers' perspective on which program goals the agency should emphasize, we asked respondents to rate six possible goals for JOBS programs in terms of the agency's emphasis as well as the worker's preference for emphasis (table 6). The workers thought the agencies most strongly emphasized improving clients' skills for future jobs and supporting the client's own goals for self-sufficiency. These goals also reflected the workers' preferences for JOBS goals. Least emphasized by both agencies and workers was getting clients into unsubsidized jobs quickly.

Responses across the states reveal several other interesting findings. Respondents from Tennessee (15.9) were less likely than others to identify an agency emphasis on making participation mandatory rather than voluntary for non-exempt clients. This finding is in keeping with Tennessee's operation of a voluntary program at the time of the survey. Getting into unsubsidized jobs quickly was viewed as an emphasis by 13.8 percent in Pennsylvania, but by one-third or more of the respondents in Maryland, Michigan, and Texas. Promoting a partnership between the agency and the clients was perceived as an agency emphasis by 61.4 percent of the respondents in Oregon. The Oregon respondents, along with those from Texas (43.9 and 45.9 percent, respectively), were more

Table 6: Goals for JOBS: Agencies' Emphasis vs. Workers' Emphasis (All Respondents)

Goal	Mean Scores *	
	Agencies' Emphasis	Workers' Emphasis
Improve clients' skills for future jobs	3.9	4.6
Support the client's own goals for self-sufficiency	3.6	4.4
Promote a partnership between the agency and the client	3.3	4.0
Make participation mandatory rather than voluntary for non-exempt clients	3.3	3.8
Design services to meet the unique needs of the participant and her family	3.2	4.2
Get clients into unsubsidized jobs quickly	3.0	3.7

* Scale: 1=very unimportant and 5=very important.

likely to note an agency emphasis on designing services to meet the unique needs of the participant and her family.

With a few exceptions, community size did not seem to have an important bearing on the agencies' goals or the workers' preferences for agency goals. Workers in small or rural communities were more likely to perceive their agencies as placing greater emphasis on improving clients' skills for future jobs (77.5 percent) than workers in mid-sized communities (70.3 percent) or in larger cities (65.5 percent). Workers from small communities also perceived their agencies as placing greater emphasis on designing services to meet the unique needs of the participant and her family (43.2 percent) than workers in mid-sized communities (38.2 percent) or in larger cities (36.9 percent).

The workers' assessment of their agencies' JOBS programs was measured by two items. The first asked them to evaluate how helpful the agency's typical JOBS services will be in getting clients off welfare. About one-half (51.1 percent) of the respondents viewed the agency's services as being of help to clients in getting off welfare. Responses to this item ranged from 37.5 percent in New York to 65.3 percent in Texas.

Among all respondents, only 17 percent believed their agency's services would be of little help to clients.

The second item asked for a rating of the overall adequacy of the agency's education, training, and employment services for JOBS participants. Here, 44.4 percent of the respondents viewed the services as adequate; 17 percent found them to be inadequate. Respondents from both small and mid-sized communities (51.2 and 53.6 percent, respectively) were more likely to view services as being adequate than respondents from large urban areas (37.7 percent).

Barriers to Implementation. From the workers' perspective, the central barriers to JOBS implementation within their agencies were inadequate funding for employment and training services and the lack of employment opportunities in the community (table 7). Respondents from Maryland and Mississippi were more likely than respondents in other states to note both of these items as barriers to implementation. Of moderate importance to respondents in all states were inadequate funding for child care and transportation, the lack of child care providers, inadequate agency staffing for JOBS, the lack of available transportation, and the lack of available education and training services in the community. The lack of child care providers was of more concern to workers in Maryland and Mississippi than to workers in other states. In addition, inadequate funding for transportation was identified as a significant barrier in Mississippi. Barriers related to staff knowledge about JOBS, agency procedures, and expectations for clients were regarded as the least important barriers to program implementation.

In considering barriers to program implementation in relation to community size, we found several statistically significant differences. Workers from smaller communities were more likely to view the lack of employment opportunities and the lack of transportation as barriers to implementation than workers in larger communities. Lack of employment opportunities was viewed as a barrier by 85 percent of the workers from small communities, 71.2 percent of workers from mid-sized communities, and 64.6 percent of the urban workers. Lack of transportation was viewed as a barrier by 69.4 percent of the workers from small communities, 60.6 percent of workers from mid-sized communities, and 42.5 percent of the urban workers. Workers from large cities were more likely to view inadequate funds for education and training services as a barrier (75.4 percent) than workers from mid-sized communities (68 percent) or small communities (60 percent).

In-Service Training. In-service training may influence workers' perceptions of their work environment as well as the JOBS program. To explore this influence, the survey included a series of items about the type and extent of in-service training received by the respondents. Almost two-thirds of the respondents had received in-service training related to the JOBS program. For one-fourth of the respondents, training was provided for three hours or less, and the median number of hours of in-service training was eight. However, workers in Maryland, Mississippi, and Oregon averaged 50 or more hours of training. As shown in table 8, the training provided focused on a general orientation to the JOBS program and on new rules and regulations related to the program. In-

Table 7: Workers' Perceptions of Barriers to Implementing JOBS (All Respondents)

Barrier	Mean Scores*
Inadequate funding for education and training services	4.1
Lack of employment opportunities in the community	4.0
Inadequate funding for child care	3.8
Inadequate funding for transportation	3.7
Lack of child care providers	3.7
Inadequate staffing for JOBS program in the agency	3.6
Lack of available transportation in the community	3.5
Lack of available education and training services in the community	3.5
Lack of staff knowledge about the JOBS program	3.3
Agency rules and regulations too complex to implement properly	3.2
Unrealistic expectations for most clients	3.1
Requiring 20 hours of JOBS activity leads to assignment of unnecessary or inappropriate services	3.1

* Scale: 1=very unimportant and 5=very important.

service training gave relatively little emphasis to available community resources and to such program procedures as working with other agencies. In some instances, this training emphasized a changed mission for AFDC, from income maintenance to employment, training, and educational services: 41.9 percent of the respondents reported this emphasis in their in-service training. The respondents expressed a strong interest in receiving additional in-service training related to the JOBS program, as shown in table 8. Of particular interest to the respondents was additional training about the availability of education, training, and employment services in the community.

Table 8: In-service Training Related to JOBS (All Respondents)

Survey Item	Percentage
Type of Training Received (% checked yes)	
General orientation on JOBS	61.0
New rules and regulations related to JOBS	48.6
Reporting and monitoring system	29.3
Availability of education, training, and employment services in the community	28.6
General skills enhancement (e.g., case management management skills)	28.5
Program procedures (e.g., working with other agencies)	27.2
Topical areas (e.g., substance abuse)	15.5
Type of Training Wanted/Desired (% checked yes)	
Availability of education, training, and employment services in the community	62.4
New rules and regulations related to JOBS	56.4
Program procedures (e.g., working with other agencies)	50.8
Topical areas (e.g., substance abuse)	46.6
General skills enhancement (e.g., case management management skills)	45.7
Reporting and monitoring system	44.3
General orientation on JOBS	40.2

FINDINGS: THE WORKERS' FUNCTIONAL ROLES

Processing Clients into the JOBS Program

For participants, entry into the JOBS program begins with an introduction to the program, followed by an assessment and development of an employability plan. This section covers the workers' perspectives on each of these three steps for engaging clients in the JOBS program.

Providing Information about JOBS. Programs are required to provide all applicants and recipients with information regarding the education, training, and employment opportunities available through the JOBS program, as well as the supportive services. Additionally, information must be provided at the same time regarding the establishment of paternity and the enforcement of child support obligations. The survey instrument included a series of items regarding agency policies and workers' practices in informing clients about the JOBS program. As with many of the items in the questionnaire, only those workers with responsibilities in this particular area were invited to complete this section.

The findings indicate that, during initial application to AFDC or recertification for AFDC, workers place greater emphasis on the opportunities available to clients through the JOBS program and relatively less emphasis on the clients' obligations to participate in JOBS. An agency emphasis on opportunities was reported by 45 percent of the workers, and one-fourth reported an agency emphasis on obligations. However, an agency emphasis on obligations ranged from 6.8 percent in Tennessee to 43.6 percent in Michigan. Overall, 61.4 percent of the respondents thought it was more important to emphasize opportunities than client obligations (15.6 percent), and no statistically significant differences were found across the states on the workers' preference for emphasizing opportunities.

Perhaps the most informative data regarding the provision of JOBS information to clients are the time allocations given to it within the eligibility interviews. Workers reported allocating the most time for providing information to non-exempt clients. However, workers spent 11 minutes discussing the JOBS program with non-exempt clients during initial interviews that averaged 49 minutes; workers spent 8 minutes discussing the JOBS program during redetermination interviews that averaged 30 minutes. On another item, 43.8 percent of the respondents indicated that they provide clients with a brief introduction to the JOBS

program during the eligibility or redetermination interviews, and 29.5 percent indicated that they provided a detailed introduction to the program. Workers in Oklahoma and Oregon were more likely than workers in other states to characterize their interviews as detailed discussions of the program, and workers in these states also allocated the greatest amount of time to discussing the program.

Workers were asked to indicate the frequency with which various topics were discussed with clients during the initial eligibility interviews (table 9). Clearly, the most frequently discussed topics were establishing paternity and cooperation in enforcing child support. The priority given to these areas reflects the focus on financial eligibility for assistance and possible alternative sources of income support. These areas were followed in importance by discussions of obligations for participation and consequences for failure to participate. In these initial eligibility interviews, workers reported giving relatively little attention to such supportive services as transportation, transitional benefits, work-related expenses, and assistance available for securing child care services.

Given the difference in time allocations for the initial eligibility interview across the states, differences in the coverage of various topics was to be expected, and several are of interest. While one-half of all respondents report discussing available education, employment, and training opportunities, this ranged from 28.2 percent in Michigan to 84.6 percent in Oklahoma. Across all states, only 38 percent reported discussing types of child care, but in Oklahoma, 72.3 percent reported covering this. Transitional child care and health care received the most extensive coverage in Oregon, discussed by one-half of those workers compared to one-fourth of all respondents.

Initial Assessments and Employability Plans for JOBS. Before a client participates in the JOBS program, an initial assessment must be completed on her employability. As specified in the legislation, this assessment must include the participant's educational, child care, and other supportive services needs; the participant's skills, prior work experience, and employability; and a review of the family circumstances. At state option, an assessment may also be made of the needs of any child of the participant. Based on the initial assessment, an employability plan must be developed in consultation with the participant. The plan must take into account available program resources, the participant's supportive services needs, her skill level and aptitudes, and local employment opportunities. The plan is to be developed in consultation with the

Table 9: Topics Discussed During Initial Eligibility Interviews

Topic	Mean Scores*
Responsibility to cooperate in enforcing child support	4.3
Responsibility to cooperate in establishing paternity	4.3
Consequences of not participating	4.1
Obligations of participants	4.0
Available education, employment, and training	3.6
Grounds for exemptions	3.5
"Good cause" provisions	3.4
Types of child care services	3.2
Other supportive services	3.2
Assistance available for selecting and locating child care	2.9
Other work-related expenses	2.8
Transitional child care	2.7
Transitional health care	2.7
Transportation	2.7

* Scale: 1=never and 5=always.

Average amount of time spent conducting an initial eligibility interview: 49 minutes.

participant and reflect the participant's preferences "to the maximum extent possible" (45 CFR 250.41(b)(2)(v)).

Workers reported spending an average of 52 minutes conducting an initial assessment interview. This ranged, however, from 33 minutes in Michigan to 77 minutes in Oregon. Although one-half of all respondents indicated that they would frequently like more information than was obtained in the assessment to plan services for clients, one-half indicated that their agency's assessment process provided adequate information to identify a client's needs for services (see table 10). This ranged, however,

from 27.8 percent in Michigan to 86.7 percent in New York. In these assessment interviews, the most frequently explored content areas were educational and child care needs (table 11). Other needs of children, personal problems, or health issues were less frequently discussed in the initial assessment. Other survey items (table 12) also reflected the lower priority given to the needs of children and to identifying particularly vulnerable clients for special services during the assessment process.

Across the states, the workers' coverage of a number of areas during the initial assessment interview did not differ at a statistically significant level. In general, 80 percent or more of the workers reported attending to basic educational skills, child care needs, and prior work experience. Two-thirds of the workers reported attending to the client's health status, and 57.4 percent covered the needs of children other than child care. In other content areas, however, there were wide differences among the workers from various states. For example, all workers in Oregon and 94.9 percent of those in Minnesota indicated frequently covering the client's transportation needs. This contrasts with 48.2 percent of the workers in Oklahoma and 59.3 percent in Tennessee. Outreach for children's health programs was most likely to be covered by workers in Oklahoma (87.5 percent) and Texas (66.7 percent), compared to 12.5 percent in Michigan and 18.8 percent in New York. Attention to substance abuse status also reflected wide differences: most workers in New York (93.8 percent) and Minnesota (71.8 percent) reported that they frequently covered this topic in an initial assessment, compared to less than a third of the workers in Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. And, while 57.1 percent of all

Table 10: Workers' Perceptions of Agency Assessment Process

Statement	Percent Agreeing
I frequently would like more information than I obtained during the assessment in order to plan services for clients.	52.7
The agency's assessment process provides adequate information for me to identify the client's needs for services.	49.7
The agency allows enough time for me to complete all parts of the assessment.	44.3
The assessment process in my agency is standardized.	35.9
The assessment process in my agency is individualized.	31.3

Table 11: Content Areas Covered in the Initial Assessment

Area	Mean Score*
Educational needs	4.5
Child care needs	4.5
Basic educational skills	4.4
Occupational/vocational skills training needs	4.3
Prior work experience	4.3
Transportation	4.2
Occupational preferences	4.2
Other supportive service needs	4.1
Family circumstances	4.1
Personal problems or barriers	4.1
Health status	4.0
Needs of the child(ren) (other than child care)	3.7
Substance abuse status	3.5
Outreach for children's health programs	3.3

* Scale: 1=never and 5=always.

Average amount of time spent conducting initial assessment: 52 minutes.

workers indicated identifying vulnerable participants and their children for special services, the percentage ranged from 37 in Tennessee to 74.3 in Oregon.

Table 13 provides the workers' rating of the importance of selected factors in developing employability plans for JOBS participants. Considered most important in developing the employability plans were the client's educational level, her child care needs, and local employment opportunities. Overall, program cost was not an important factor to these workers in developing employability plans. While a number of

Table 12: Special Content Areas Covered in the Initial Assessment

Area	Means Score*
Emphasize the agency requirements for the clients	4.4
Emphasize the opportunities provided by JOBS	4.2
Explore the needs of the participant in depth	3.9
Identify the participant's goals in depth	3.9
Identify particularly vulnerable participants and their children for special services	3.7
Identify the strengths of participants and their families	3.6
Explore the needs of children in depth	3.3

* Scale: 1=never and 5=always.

differences were noted across the states for the content covered in the initial assessment, relatively few differences were noted for the importance of various factors in developing the employability plans. Overall, local employment opportunities were regarded as important by 83 percent of the respondents. This ranged, however, from 42 percent in Michigan to 90 percent in Minnesota, Mississippi, and Texas. The participants' needs for supportive services other than child care were judged important in developing the employability plan by 76.4 percent of the respondents, but this ranged from 51.7 percent in Oklahoma to approximately 90 percent in Minnesota and Mississippi. The cost of a program component was regarded as an important factor by 38.1 percent of all respondents, but this ranged from one-fourth or less in Oklahoma and Maryland to one-half or more in Minnesota, Mississippi, and Pennsylvania.

In developing these plans, one-half (52.3 percent) of the workers regarded the clients as active participants in the process, and two-thirds (65.3 percent) indicated that the plans matched the clients' preferences. However, this varied by state. Only one-fourth of the workers in New York viewed clients as active participants, compared to two-thirds or more in Minnesota and Pennsylvania. Additionally, workers in Mississippi (9.1 percent) were least likely to indicate that the plan frequently matched the clients' preferences. In contrast, more than eighty percent of

Table 13: Workers' Perceptions of the Importance of Factors in Developing Employability Plan

Factor	Mean Scores*
Participant's educational level	4.5
Participant's child care needs	4.4
Local employment opportunities	4.4
Participant's work experience	4.3
Participant's preferences	4.2
Availability of transportation	4.2
Participant's other supportive service need	4.2
Availability of program slots	4.0
Agency rules requiring particular components for participation	3.9
The cost of the program component	3.1

* Scale: 1=very unimportant and 5=very important.

Average time spent in completing the employability plan: 36 minutes.

the workers in Tennessee and Minnesota thought that the employability plans matched the clients' preferences. Overall, however, these findings suggest that, at least from many workers' vantage point, the legislation's intent to have clients actively involved in developing their own program of activity has been met.

Changing employability plans was not a particularly frequent occurrence, as shown in table 14. When plans were changed, they were changed because the client was either not doing well or became dissatisfied with a plan and requested a change. Service plans were least likely to be changed because a service was not available, but that finding does not necessarily reflect on the availability of services. A particular service may never have been an option for the employability plan initially because it was simply not available in a community and other options were developed. If an activity that the employability plan called for was not

immediately available, clients were most likely to be referred to another service. Less frequently, they were placed on a waiting list. It was rare for a client to be excused from participation due to the lack of a particular activity.

Child Care Services

The child care provisions of the Family Support Act recognize that the availability of child care services will be a critical factor in facilitating participation of AFDC recipients in the JOBS program. The introduction of the JOBS program expanded expectations for participation in welfare employment programs to mothers with children ages three to five years, if child care is available. Additionally, at state option, mothers with children ages one year or older may be required to participate if child care is available. To meet these needs, the act significantly liberalized both the eligibility for child care and its public financing.

Respondents were asked a series of questions about the availability of child care providers for JOBS participants in their agencies' programs. (Analysis in this section is based on the 274 respondents who identified child care services as part of their job responsibilities.) Overall, 64 percent of the respondents indicated that sufficient providers were available for the children of JOBS participants. Workers in Oklahoma and Oregon were most likely to identify a sufficient number of child care providers. In contrast, only 10 percent of the workers in Maryland

Table 14: Workers' Perceptions of the Agency's Employability Plan

Statement	Mean Scores*
The employability plan needs to be changed before the client completes it.	3.1
The employability plan is changed because the client is not doing satisfactorily in the program.	3.0
The employability plan is changed because the client is dissatisfied and requests a change.	2.8
The employability plan is changed because a service is not available.	2.6

* Scale: 1=never and 5=always.

believed that the supply of providers was sufficient. The perception of a sufficient supply of child care providers did vary on the basis of community size. Two-thirds of the workers in larger or mid-sized communities indicated that there was a sufficient number of providers, compared to 37.5 percent of those in small or rural communities. Respondents in all states who identified a shortage of child care services perceived the key problems limiting the supply of child care providers as cumbersome reimbursement procedures, a shortage of child care generally in a community, and the clients' lack of transportation to available providers (table 15).

Sixty percent of the respondents perceived clients with children under 18 months as frequently encountering difficulties in arranging child care (see table 16). This was noted particularly by workers in Maryland, Mississippi, and Texas. Arranging care for toddlers was also perceived as being frequently difficult by 27.9 percent of the respondents. These survey findings parallel the findings from the field network research on the local sites that indicated that some areas had particular difficulties in locating care for these age groups. Somewhat unexpected was the finding that one-third of the respondents perceived clients with children over 12 years of age as frequently experiencing difficulties in arranging child care. However, children in this age group who require child care may be children with special needs. This finding may also reflect workers' perceptions about problems related to "latch-key" children.

A major concern in requiring mothers with preschool children to participate in JOBS has been the degree of parental choice that will be offered to parents in arranging child care. Workers were asked to assess their agencies' approach to child care services to determine if special emphasis was being given to particular types of care (i.e., informal vs. formal care) and if the use of child care referral and resource services was encouraged. We also sought their perceptions of clients' being able to select their preferred type of care.

The majority of workers viewed their agencies' approach to child care services as encouraging clients to make their own child care arrangements (table 17). Workers in Michigan, Mississippi, and Oregon were more likely than others to view their agency's approach as encouraging self-arranged care. Although this finding may suggest that JOBS participants must assume primary responsibility for locating child care, it may also reflect, in part, the emphasis given to parental choice in selecting child care services.

Table 15: Workers' Perceptions of Factors Limiting Supply of Child Care Providers

Factor	Percent Agreeing
Reimbursement procedures are cumbersome to providers.	69.7
There is a shortage of child care in the community in general.	62.8
Clients lack transportation to available providers.	62.2
Payments are too low to be acceptable to providers.	58.0
The hours providers are available do not coincide with the scheduled activities for participants.	43.8

Table 16: Workers' Perceptions of Clients' Experiences with Child Care

Statement	Percent Agreeing
Clients with children in the following categories encounter difficulties in arranging child care:	
Under 18 months	60.1
18 months to age 3	27.9
Over age 3 but under age 5	16.6
Age 5 to age 12	16.7
Over age 12	33.8

Only slightly more than one-fifth of the respondents regarded their agencies as promoting the use of informal rather than formal child care arrangements. Workers in Maryland were most likely (54.1 percent) to agree that this statement characterized their agencies' approach to child care. Additionally, 41.7 percent of the Maryland workers perceived their clients as preferring different child care arrangements, but being unable to find them. Across the states, only 19.2 percent of the respondents agreed with that statement.

Table 17: Workers' Perceptions of Agency Approaches to Child Care

Statement	Percent Agreeing
Clients are encouraged to make their own arrangements for child care.	63.1
Child care is viewed as an opportunity to enhance the emotional and cognitive development of children.	35.7
Clients are encouraged to use a child care broker or resource and referral agency to assist in arranging child care.	35.4
The use of family members or friends to provide child care is encouraged rather than more formal child care arrangements.	21.6
Clients would prefer different child care arrangements but they are unable to find them.	19.2

Table 18: Workers' Perceptions of Agencies' Frequent Use of Early Childhood Education Program

Program	Percent Agreeing
Head Start	43.7
Public preschool programs	42.0
Nonprofit preschool programs	28.8
Chapter 1 programs	19.4

Slightly more than one-third of the respondents indicated that the use of child care resource and referral agencies was encouraged within their agencies. As might be anticipated, this was particularly the case in Tennessee and Texas (60 and 70.1 percent, respectively) which have established child care brokers or management agencies.

The federal legislation requires that state welfare agencies coordinate their child care efforts with existing early childhood education programs

in the state, including Head Start. This provision, along with the other supportive services potentially available under the JOBS program to both adults and children, has been viewed as offering the potential for the JOBS program to become a two-generational preventive program (Smith, Blank, & Bond, 1990). Additionally, the use of early childhood education programs is a potential vehicle for maximizing both available funding and slots for child care.

As shown in table 18, slightly more than 40 percent of the respondents viewed their agencies as making frequent use of Head Start and public preschool programs for the children of JOBS participants. Nonprofit preschool and Chapter I programs were less likely to be reported as frequently used for JOBS participants. Several differences were noted on the basis of community size. Slightly more than 60 percent of the workers in small and mid-sized communities indicated frequent usage of Head Start compared to 29.3 percent of those in larger cities. Workers in larger cities or mid-sized communities (42.7 and 45.2 percent, respectively) tended to use public school preschool programs more frequently than workers in small communities (33.3 percent).

About one-third of all respondents acknowledged that their agencies' approach to child care included the view that child care is an opportunity to enhance children's development. About one-half of the respondents in Minnesota and Texas believed this view characterized their agencies.

Education, Training, and Employment Services

Access to the education, training, and employment services needed by program participants is critical to implementing the JOBS program on the local level. Although the welfare agency has full responsibility for administering this new welfare employment program, welfare agencies have continued to draw on resources available through other organizations to deliver education, training, and employment services. The Family Support Act recognized that other organizations already provided these services and emphasized coordination of services by the welfare agency with other providers, particularly the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and education agencies.

Front-line workers responsible for arranging for, or referring clients to, JOBS services were asked to evaluate the availability of various services for JOBS clients within their community. Table 19 presents the workers' perceptions of service availability. From their vantage point, most educational services were readily available within their communities—GED preparation, adult basic education, college education,

Table 19: Workers' Perceptions of Service Availability

Service	Mean Scores
GED preparation	3.7
Adult basic education	3.6
Traditional high school programs	3.6
Post-secondary education (college)	3.5
Vocational and technical training	3.5
Job search/job club	3.5
Literacy programs (pre-ABE)	3.4
Alternative high school programs	3.4
Job readiness activities	3.4
English as a second language	3.1
Work experience	3.1
Job development/job placement	3.1
On-the-job training	2.8
Work supplementation	2.5

* Scale:
1=never available
2=available, but severely limited slots
3=available, but occasionally limited slots
4=always available

and traditional high school programs. English as a second language (ESL) was an available educational service, but occasionally slots in those programs were limited. Also fairly available were vocational and technical training, job search or job club programs, job readiness activities, literacy programs, and alternative high school programs. In addition to ESL, services that were considered available, but occasionally had limited slots, were work experience and job development and placement

services. Both on-the-job training and work supplementation programs were seriously limited in availability.

We found some variation in service availability when we made comparisons by community size (table 20). Workers in smaller communities indicated greater availability of literacy programs and post-secondary education, and those in mid-sized communities reporter greater availability of work experience, job development, and on-the-job training.

Front-line workers must secure education, training, and employment services from their own agency or from others, either paying for those services using JOBS funds or obtaining them on a non-reimbursable basis. As shown in table 21, workers viewed services as being readily available from the welfare agency, public educational programs, including community colleges, and the JTPA agency. Three-fourths of the workers in Oklahoma and Pennsylvania found services readily available from the employment service agency. In contrast, one-half or less of the workers in Maryland and Mississippi assessed these services as being readily available.

In assessing the availability of child care brokers and resource and referral agencies, workers in Maryland and Oklahoma were more likely to note restrictions on services from child care resource and referral agencies. As might be expected given the development of child care management systems in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas, workers in

Table 20: Workers' Perceptions of Service Availability in the Community*

	Community Size			
Service	**Large**	**Mid-Sized**	**Small**	**P**
Literacy programs	82.8	88.3	96.6	.023
Post-secondary education	83.5	91.6	96.6	.012
Work experience	71.7	89.7	80.4	.003
On-the-job training	54.1	77.8	60.0	.001
Job development	71.0	87.1	66.7	.007

* Figures reflect percentages of workers who perceived the availability of services as either available with occasional limitation or always available.

Table 21: Workers' Perceptions of Availability of Services From Other Agencies

Agency	Mean Scores*
Welfare agency	3.7
High schools	3.6
Adult basic education agencies	3.5
Community colleges	3.5
JTPA agency	3.5
Public vocational/technical schools	3.4
Employment service	3.4
Community action agency/community based organizations	3.3
Child care broker or resource and referral agency	3.2
Other local training programs	3.2
Private education/training organizations	3.0

* Scale:
1=never available
2=available, but severely limited slots
3=available, but occasionally limited slots
4=always available

these states were more likely than those in other states to identify services as being available from a child care broker agency.

Workers in mid-sized communities reported greater availability of services from child care broker or referral agencies, public vocational and technical schools, and private educational and training organizations (table 22). Workers in both mid-sized and smaller communities reported greater access to adult basic education agencies, high schools, and the JTPA than workers in larger cities.

The findings suggest that, although workers might encounter occasionally limited slots from some service providers, they evaluated

services as being fairly available to JOBS clients at the time of the study. They also evaluated service agencies as being willing to serve JOBS clients (63.8 percent). This ranged from 40.7 percent in Maryland to 77.8 percent in Minnesota. Only 6.6 percent of the respondents perceived other agencies as being unwilling to provide services to JOBS clients. However, the findings suggest that workers in Mississippi perceived greater resistance from other agencies than workers in other states. In considering these findings, one must remember that the survey was conducted in the fall of 1991, at which time states were serving relatively low numbers of JOBS participants.

Monitoring Client Progress

The federal regulations require JOBS programs to fulfill specific monitoring requirements of program participation. The monitoring requirements were based on evidence that "there is a significant no-show and drop-out rate" when states "do not monitor individual activity" (Federal Register, 1989, p. 42201). Additionally, monitoring agency

Table 22: Availability of Services of Other Agencies to JOBS Clients*

	Community Size			
Survey Item	**Large**	**Mid-Sized**	**Small**	**P**
Adult basic education agencies	90.1	96.1	95.7	.043
Child care broker or resource and referral agency	77.5	86.5	66.1	.008
High schools	88.2	95.6	93.5	.040
JTPA agencies	86.4	94.5	95.7	.006
Public vocational/technical schools	86.2	95.8	87.2	.019
Private education/training organizations	71.9	79.0	44.6	.000

* Figures reflect percentages of workers who perceived the availability of services from other agencies as either available with occasional limitation or always available.

services and client progress is considered an integral part of case management services.

An important monitoring function is the follow-up with clients who are not attending JOBS activities for which they are scheduled. Some 38.5 percent of the respondents indicated that this follow-up would occur within one week or less, and 43.8 percent would follow-up within two to three weeks. Agency emphasis during follow-up was perceived as emphasizing enforcement of compliance by 46.3 percent of the respondents and as emphasizing informal persuasion by 21.9 percent. Workers in Tennessee (52.2 percent) were more likely than those in other states to note an agency emphasis on persuasion, while workers in Maryland (66.1 percent) noted an emphasis on the enforcement of obligations.

Effective client tracking and monitoring requires that service providers inform agencies when a client either has not shown up for a particular activity or has dropped out of that activity. In other words, to provide follow-up, staff must know about a client's failure to participate in activities. Workers indicated that they were most likely to learn about non-attendance for clients participating in job readiness activities, job search or job club, job development and placement, and work experience programs. Respondents indicated that they were most likely to learn about the client not attending these activities and work supplementation within one week or less (table 23). Workers were least likely to obtain this information about clients who were participating in college-level education programs. It is noteworthy that one-fifth to one-third of the respondents, depending on the particular JOBS activity, indicated that it took four weeks or more to receive information from the provider about a client not showing up or dropping out of an activity. This was most likely to be the situation for clients attending college or high school programs.

Monitoring clients' participation in programs is a significant activity for front-line workers. Of those responsible for client monitoring and tracking, these activities accounted for about one-third (32.4 percent) of their weekly work time. This ranged from 15.8 percent in Oklahoma to 57.7 percent in Mississippi. Almost one-half (48.4 percent) of the respondents believed clients in the JOBS program were being closely monitored; however, the range for this item was 18.2 percent in Oklahoma to 77.3 percent in New York. The agencies' monitoring procedures were regarded as effective by 44.6 percent of the respondents. However, one-fifth or more felt that clients were not being closely

monitored (21.3 percent) and that monitoring procedures were not effective (27.5 percent).

There appears to be an inverse relationship between community size and both the workers' perceptions of the closeness and the effectiveness of monitoring (table 24). In smaller communities, two-thirds of the workers reported that clients were being closely monitored, compared to 40 percent in larger cities. While slightly more than one-third of the workers in larger cities evaluated the monitoring procedures as effective, 58.9 percent of those in smaller communities indicated that the procedures were effective.

Factors Affecting Client Participation

To the extent that resources permit, non-exempt AFDC recipients are required to participate in JOBS activities. However, at the time of this study, the federally mandated rates for participation were seven percent

Table 23: Monitoring JOBS Programs: Percent of Workers Reporting They Were Likely to Find Out Clients Were Not Attending an Activity in a Given Time Period

	Percent Agreeing			
Activities	**1 Week or Less**	**2-3 Weeks**	**4 or More**	**Not Likely**
Post-secondary education (college)	7.7	25.8	31.2	35.2
Vocational and technical training	15.4	32.7	28.8	23.1
High school programs	13.4	36.3	30.8	19.5
Work supplementation	24.0	29.6	29.6	16.8
On-the-job training	28.1	27.0	28.5	16.3
Adult basic education programs	21.2	37.7	26.3	14.9
Job development/job placement	36.6	27.5	23.4	12.5
Work experience	29.0	33.8	25.0	12.1
Job search/job club	43.5	23.3	21.3	12.0
Job readiness activities	38.6	29.7	22.4	9.2

Table 24: Workers' Perceptions of the Closeness and Effectiveness of Monitoring*

Survey Item	Community Size			
	Large	Mid-Sized	Small	P
Clients in the JOBS program are being monitored closely.	39.6	58.8	66.7	.001
The agency's monitoring procedures are effective for clients in the JOBS program.	36.7	55.3	58.9	.000

* Figures indicate percent of workers agreeing with the statements.

of the non-exempt AFDC caseload. The field network research suggested that states were giving priority to volunteers or operating voluntary programs during the initial stages of JOBS implementation (Hagen & Lurie, 1992b). The survey of front-line workers explored issues related to client participation by considering the reasons for exemptions from program participation, the reasons for client discontinuation of program participation, and the agencies' approaches to the use of conciliation and sanctioning.

As shown in table 25, respondents indicated that the most common reason for excusing clients from JOBS participation were health problems and employment. However, even these reasons were not used with great frequency, suggesting that relatively few potential JOBS participants are excused from program participation. This conclusion is further supported by the finding that 42.6 percent of the respondents reported that their agencies' approach to excusing clients from required participation was not a lenient one; only one-fifth (19.8) of the respondents reported agency leniency about excusing clients from JOBS.

Although excusing clients from JOBS participation was not frequent in any state, several interesting differences across the states were noted. Most workers in Mississippi (84.6 percent) and Oklahoma (64.8 percent) indicated that the lack of child care was not a reason for excusing clients from JOBS participation, while slightly less than one-half of the workers in Tennessee (49.2 percent) and Pennsylvania (48.9 percent) considered this an acceptable reason for excusing clients from participation. Workers

Table 25: Workers' Perceptions of Reasons for Clients to be Excused from Participating in JOBS

Survey Item	Mean Score*
Health problems	3.5
Employed	3.5
Family crisis	3.2
Lack of child care	2.9
Lack of transportation	2.9
Waiting entry into a service component	2.9
Lack of appropriate service component	2.7
Remoteness from JOBS program	2.7
Client is assigned a low priority to receive JOBS services	2.4
Client prefers not to participate	2.2

* Scale: 1=never and 5=always.

in Tennessee (64.4 percent) were more likely to note the lack of transportation as a reason to excuse clients from JOBS participation than workers in other states.

Although excusing participants from JOBS participation was not a particularly frequent occurrence, we noted differences based on the size of the community. Workers in smaller communities were more likely than those in mid-sized or larger communities to report clients excused from program participation due to a lack of transportation, remoteness from the JOBS program, and family crisis. Workers in mid-sized communities were more likely to report excusing clients due to health problems or employment.

Frequent concerns about client participation are clients' failing to show up for scheduled activities and dropping out of their assigned activities after initial participation. The respondents in this survey indicated that clients were most likely not to show up for scheduled activities related to job search or job club, orientation to the JOBS program, and

job readiness programs (table 26). Clients assigned to complete employability plans, educational services, job training programs, and on-the-job training were least likely to be "no-shows." Front-line workers were also asked to indicate how frequently various reasons explain clients' participating irregularly in, or dropping out of, an assigned JOBS activity. The most frequent reason, reported by slightly more than one-half of the respondents, was that the client loses motivation (table 27). However, problems related to child care and transportation were also noted by one-half of the respondents.

Conciliation and Sanctioning. To address the lack of client participation in assigned JOBS activities, conciliation and sanctioning may be used. Slightly more than one-half of the respondents (53 percent) reported that their agencies encourage the use of the conciliation and sanctioning process. This ranged from 13.6 percent in Tennessee to 76.9 percent and 71.4 percent in Mississippi and New York respectively. The conciliation process was viewed by 40 percent of the respondents as emphasizing the identification and resolution of client barriers to participation; 27.7 percent viewed the emphasis as being placed on enforcing clients' obligations to participate. Workers in Maryland (61.8 percent) were more likely than others to report an emphasis on removing barriers to participation; those in New York (54.5 percent), on the obligations of clients to participate in the JOBS program.

Over sixty percent (63.8 percent) of the respondents indicated that their agencies would actually impose sanctions if clients failed to comply with JOBS requirements, and one-fifth (21.6 percent) reported that their agencies were unlikely to impose sanctions on clients. This latter item, however, ranged from 8.4 percent in Maryland to 60 percent in Tennessee. Respondents estimated that of their JOBS clients, one-fifth were referred to conciliation and about 10 percent were actually sanctioned. Estimates of those referred for conciliation ranged from 8.8 percent in Oklahoma to 37 percent in Maryland. Estimates of those actually sanctioned ranged from two percent in Oklahoma and Tennessee to 15 and 16 percent in Maryland and Texas.

Some variation in the use of conciliation and sanctioning was noted on the basis of community size. An agency position on encouraging the use of conciliation and sanctioning was more likely to be noted by workers in larger cities (56.6 percent) than those in mid-sized (50 percent) or small (45.9 percent) communities. One-fifth of the workers in small communities reported that the use of conciliation and sanctioning was discouraged in their agencies, compared to about nine percent in the other

Table 26: Workers' Perceptions of Activities for which Clients are Unlikely to Show-up

Activity	Percent Agreeing
Job search/job club	28.9
Orientation	25.7
Job readiness activities	22.7
Job development/job placement	16.9
Assessment	16.6
Work supplementation	16.5
Work experience	16.3
On-the-job training	15.6
Job training	15.0
Education services	14.6
Employability plan	12.6

Table 27: Workers' Perceptions of Reasons for Client Drop-out

Reason	Percent Agreeing
Client loses motivation	53.6
Client experiences child care problems	50.4
Client experiences transportation problems	49.9
Client is dissatisfied with the JOBS activity	39.4
Client experiences a family crisis	35.3
Client accepts employment	21.1
Client experiences a health problem	18.7

two types of localities. One-third of the workers in smaller communities indicated that their agencies were unlikely to actually impose sanctions, compared to about one-fifth of the workers in mid-sized or large communities.

Case Management Services

Under the Family Support Act, states have the option of offering case management services as part of their JOBS programs. Nine of the states in this study selected that option. Tennessee, however, was pilot testing case management services at the time of our study, and none of the local sites in the study officially offered case management services. Oklahoma, which did not officially select this option, provides case management services through its integration of income maintenance and social service functions. Nonetheless, workers in both of these states identified themselves as fulfilling case management functions, and their responses were included in the data analysis.

Case management is a term applied to various practice approaches (Rapp & Chamberlain, 1985), but case management traditionally has included responsibility for service coordination, service continuity, and for connecting clients with services to which they are entitled. Case management is now generally conceptualized as containing at least five functions: assessment, case planning, linkage to services, monitoring of services and client's progress, and advocacy (see Johnson and Rubin, 1983; Rubin, 1987; and Blazyk et al., 1987). Other commonly recognized functions of case management are outreach, resource development, crisis intervention, and direct provision of therapeutic services.

Analysis of case management services was based on the 280 respondents who identified case management services as part of their job responsibilities. Most (62.6 percent) of these respondents were employed in welfare agencies. Nineteen percent were employed by JTPA agencies, and 15.6 percent worked in community-based organizations (table 28). As shown in table 29, the respondents providing case management services viewed their weekly tasks as fulfilling four of the five functions generally regarded as part of case management: assessment, case planning, service linkage, and client monitoring. However, they identified their most commonly performed task as being the provision of on-going support and encouragement to clients. This supportive role of the case manager, combined with the emphasis on resolution of problems that interfere with client participation, gives recognition to one of the least measurable aspects of case management: the interpersonal connection, or the relationship, between the client and the worker. This variable has been

Table 28: Case Managers by Agencies* (N=280)

	Percent Case Managers In			
	JTPA	WELFARE	CBO	OTHER
Maryland	47	53	0	0
Michigan	0	100	0	0
Minnesota	0	24	70	6
Mississippi	16	47	37	0
New York	46	55	0	0
Oklahoma	0	100	0	0
Oregon	25	63	13	0
Pennsylvania	11	89	0	0
Tennessee	29	0	71	0
Texas	20	71	0	10
All Case Managers	19	63	16	3

* Agencies:
JTPA=Job Training Partnership Act agencies
Welfare=Welfare agencies
CBO=Community-based organizations
Other=All other organizations

identified traditionally (Perlman, 1957), as well as more recently (Golden, 1991), as being of critical importance in fostering the clients' abilities to participate in problem resolution and in program activities. These findings suggest that the respondents share this perspective and may regard it not only as their most frequently performed task, but also as their most important function. However, only one-half of the respondents perceived their agency's case management services as successful in promoting and fostering on-going client participation in the JOBS program and in assisting clients to achieve their goals in the program. The

Table 29: Case Managers' Reported Activities in a Typical Week (N=280)

Activity	Mean Score*
Provision of on-going encouragement and support to clients	4.3
Monitor/track client participation	4.3
Overall case planning	4.0
Resolution of problems that interfere with participation	4.0
Assessment	3.9
Referral to services to arrange child care	3.9
Referral to employment and training services	3.9
Referral to education services	3.8
Employability plan	3.8
Advocacy for clients	3.6
Assistance in arranging child care	3.5
Interface with welfare agency units	3.3
Involvement with conciliation and sanctioning	3.3
Counseling related to personal, family, and other issues	3.2
Referral to other supportive services	3.1
Crisis intervention	3.1
Outreach to eligible clients	2.8
Case conferencing with providers	2.8
Provision of services after loss of AFDC eligibility	2.6

* Scale: 1=never and 5=always.
Mean caseload for case managers: 106.

responses regarding the success of case management in promoting client participation ranged from 18.9 percent in Oklahoma to 72.7 and 85.7 percent in New York and Tennessee; in assisting clients to achieve their goals, from 24.3 percent in Oklahoma to 100 percent in Tennessee.

The perceived limitation on the success of case management in some states may be related to two factors. First, the average monthly caseload for JOBS case managers was 106, ranging from 26 in Tennessee to 201 in Pennsylvania. (This compares to an average of 118 cases, ranging from 10 to 500, reported by the Institute for Family Self-Sufficiency [1992]). The large caseloads in some states may prohibit intensive work with clients. Second, case managers reported the monitoring and tracking of client participation as being a task performed with great frequency. On average, monitoring clients accounted for one-third of the respondents' weekly work time, ranging from 16 percent in Oklahoma to 63 percent in Mississippi. These work requirements on case managers, combined with the large caseloads, may restrict their abilities to assist clients in meeting their goals and in fostering on-going program participation. This possible explanation is particularly noteworthy in that the intent of the monitoring requirements was to foster program participation: when states "do not monitor individual activity there is a significant no-show and drop-out rate" (Federal Register, 1989, p.42201). The extensive monitoring as well as data reporting requirements for large caseloads may limit the provision of supportive client services that also foster program participation.

The findings suggest that those performing case management services engage much less frequently in tasks that are considered advocacy, outreach, crisis intervention, and provision of therapeutic services. However, more than one-half (57.4 percent) of the respondents did view themselves as frequently performing advocacy functions for clients. Two-thirds or more of the workers in Minnesota, Mississippi, Oregon, and Tennessee noted this as a frequently performed function in contrast to about one-third in Oklahoma and Michigan. The limitations on advocacy functions identified by all respondents are of particular concern, given the complexity of human service systems and the relative vulnerability of the client population being served by these workers. A further limitation on the functioning of case management services is suggested by the finding that linkage to services was realized primarily through referrals to various external agencies. Other functions associated with linkage such as direct work with other providers in planning services and on internal service coordination were not frequently reported case management tasks.

We found little difference in the frequency with which case managers in communities of differing size performed various case management functions. However, there was a statistically significant difference in how case managers evaluated their agencies' case management services in promoting and fostering on-going client participation in JOBS. While only 44 percent of the case managers from larger cities considered their agencies' case management services successful in this effort, 61 and 66 percent of the case managers in small and mid-sized communities perceived their agencies' case management services as successful in this area. About 47 percent of the case managers in larger cities viewed their agencies' case management services as successful in helping clients to achieve their goals, compared to 57 percent in small communities and 61 percent in mid-sized communities.

DISCUSSION

In this study, the implementation of the JOBS program was considered from the perspective of the front-line workers responsible for service provision. While the study has a number of limitations, including reliance on a self-administered questionnaire and the purposive selection of local sites, the study provides a comprehensive look at the JOBS program from the workers' perspective. The findings are wide-ranging in terms of the characteristics of the workers themselves, the organizational climate for JOBS implementation, and the fulfillment of specific worker functions. While it is important to keep in mind that responses vary by state as well as by community size, this discussion expands on and synthesizes some of implications of the central findings from this survey of front-line workers.

The Organizational and Environmental Context for Implementing JOBS

The delivery of services in the JOBS programs included in this study were provided by experienced, fairly well educated, but relatively low paid, human service workers who were charged with fulfilling multiple responsibilities within their agencies. Among these workers, those charged with case management responsibilities tended to have more sympathetic views of welfare recipients than those who were responsible for eligibility determinations. Workers' views of welfare recipients are influenced not only by position, however, but also by such factors as education, job tenure, and salary. However, because less sympathetic views toward clients among eligibility workers may affect their willingness to engage clients in exploring the opportunities available under the JOBS program, agency administrators may wish to attend to the organizational culture that fosters these attitudes among eligibility workers. This becomes particularly important, since a client's first exposure to the JOBS program may well be the initial or redetermination eligibility interview with an eligibility worker.

While the findings on job satisfaction were somewhat higher than has been previously found for similar populations (Hagen, 1989), the workers' perceptions of the organizational environment did not suggest a setting of overwhelming support for either clients or workers in the JOBS program. Of particular note was the low level of worker morale found in this study. Overall, the findings suggest a rather "lukewarm" agency context for implementing the JOBS program. There was no sense

of enthusiastic agency responses to JOBS implementation. In part this may be explained by the relatively few changes some states had to make to come into compliance with the federal legislation because they had well developed welfare employment programs prior to the JOBS legislation (Hagen & Lurie, 1992b).

Do front-line workers support the JOBS program? These findings, as well as those of others (Office of the Inspector General, 1992, p. 7), suggest that they do: workers strongly supported the JOBS goals of promoting client self-sufficiency; they clearly wanted a stronger emphasis on the JOBS program within their agencies; and they expressed a strong interest in further in-service training related to the JOBS program, particularly in terms of accessing local education, employment, and training services.

At the time of the study, their assessment of how well the JOBS program was doing was also only "lukewarm"—half of the workers thought the JOBS program would be helpful to their clients. This evaluation of the program's effectiveness may be explained in part by the workers' identifying inadequate funding for education and training services and the lack of available employment opportunities as significant barriers to JOBS implementation.

Workers believe that funding for education and training is inadequate, and others share their concern that states are not investing enough state and local dollars in the JOBS program. A General Accounting Office report (1991) noted that in federal fiscal year 1991, most states were not planning to spend enough state funds to obtain all of their federal entitlement under JOBS. This study found that six of the states (Michigan, Mississippi, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas) drew down 50 percent or less of their federal entitlement of JOBS funds in federal fiscal year 1991 (Hagen & Lurie, 1992a). From a worker's vantage point on the front line, these limitations on purchasing services may restrict the range and types of education, training, and employment services they are able to offer clients in the JOBS program. Additionally, these limitations on service availability may skew the assessment process itself by restricting it to a consideration of information relevant to a narrow range of service options.

Workers identified the other major barrier to implementing the JOBS program as the lack of employment opportunities in the community. And this barrier was more likely to be noted by workers in small, rural communities, some of which had exceptionally high unemployment rates at the time of the study (e.g., Franklin County in New York reported an

unemployment rate of over 14 percent). The introduction of the JOBS program and its emphasis on preparing clients for economic self-sufficiency through increased participation in the labor force coincided with a period of economic recession and increasing rates of unemployment nationally. The limited opportunities for employment are indeed a potential major impediment to the success of the JOBS program (General Accounting Office, 1991, p. 4). The perception of limited employment opportunities would lead workers to a cautious projection about the overall success of the agencies' JOBS programs. At times, front-line workers must be confronted with a serious dilemma. On the one hand, they are charged with encouraging clients to participate in the JOBS program and to take advantage of the various education and training services available to them so that they may reduce their economic dependency on welfare. On the other hand, the realities of the labor market caution restraint in holding out high expectations for their clients' employment possibilities, at least in the short term.

We were also interested in the workers' perceptions of the agencies' general approach to fostering client participation in the JOBS program. Is the emphasis on clients' obligations to participate or on the opportunities available to clients through the JOBS program? The balance between these two positions was measured by a number of items in the survey and, while the findings reflect an on-going tension between these two approaches, a somewhat greater emphasis appears to be placed on client opportunities under the JOBS program. The workers themselves thought it far more important to emphasize the opportunities available to clients under the JOBS program than to emphasize the clients' obligation to participate. However, once a client is participating in the program, the emphasis appears to shift to a somewhat greater emphasis on fulfilling obligations.

The Workers' Functional Roles

The Effect of Large Caseloads. While workers perceived themselves as having good relationships with clients and as making an important difference in their clients' lives, workers also had to manage large caseloads, on average 164 cases. For case managers, the average was 106 cases. The size of these caseloads raises a number of questions regarding the responsibilities assigned to workers in handling these cases. At these sizes, it is probably not realistic to expect eligibility workers to provide extensive information about the JOBS program or to make a significant effort to foster clients' interest in the program. The findings related to the provision of information during the initial or redetermination eligibility

interviews appear to confirm this observation. Relatively few workers characterized their discussion of the JOBS program during these initial interviews as being detailed, and they allocated relatively little time to discussing the program. Of particular note was the finding that relatively little attention was given to transitional child care and health care benefits, an area identified by others as being of significant concern (General Accounting Office, 1992, p. 11).

Although the findings regarding the provision of information may be problematic given the shift envisioned by some for public welfare agencies to place increased emphasis on welfare employment programs, the findings do reflect that the purpose of initial eligibility interviews is to meet the income assistance needs of individuals, who may well be in severe financial circumstances upon initial application. Both agency policy and worker practices reflect a responsiveness to the clients' most pressing need, income support, and secondarily to the need for information about opportunities to become economically self-sufficient. The findings also reflect the reality of large caseloads, the complexity of eligibility determinations, and limited amounts of time to spend with individual clients. Both the concerns of clients at intake as well as the existing data collection demands for eligibility determinations suggest that the effectiveness of providing information regarding the JOBS program and transitional benefits at this point may be limited. The effective provision of information regarding the JOBS program and transitional benefits may be increased by considering it as an on-going area of attention that is addressed through various mechanisms and at various times during the period a client receives welfare benefits.

Caseload size is also a critical factor to consider in relation to the other functions workers are expected to fulfill. Workers did spend the greatest percentage of the time in direct contact with clients; however, they spent an almost equal amount of time completing required data entry or other paper work. An important consideration in operating JOBS programs is the appropriate balance between system demands for information and the clients' needs for services. Earlier work (General Accounting Office, 1991; Hagen & Lurie, 1992b) has documented the difficulties experienced by states in meeting the data collection and reporting requirements for JOBS. In fact, in some states, this appeared to be their most significant challenge in the initial stages of JOBS implementation. These reporting requirements may also be affecting the work responsibilities of front-line workers and may be interfering with their ability to fulfill other responsibilities and functions envisioned for them.

Case Management. Those designated as case managers also confront high caseloads and high demands for data reporting as well as tasks associated with monitoring client participation. Although case management was envisioned as an opportunity to provide more intensive services to clients, the current demands on case managers severely limit the actualization of this expectation, and the ability to provide case management services is seriously compromised, particularly the more intangible but nonetheless important function of providing clients with continuing assistance in problem-solving and with support and encouragement in on-going program participation. The importance of this function is underscored by the finding that, in the workers' view, the loss of client motivation, as well as problems related to child care and transportation, were major causes of client "drop-out." Continuing support and encouragement combined with timely assistance in solving child care and transportation problems might help reduce some of the need for clients to discontinue participation in the JOBS program.

While there were exceptions, generally the role now being fulfilled by those designated as case managers is primarily that of a broker of services, at best, and as a monitor of client participation (see also Hagen, forthcoming). Given this circumscribed role, it may be more accurate to call this function case maintenance rather than case management (Meritus, 1992). Clarifying the differing functions of case maintenance and case management may facilitate more appropriate targeting of services based on the needs of clients as well as more effective use of personnel. Clarifying these different functions and more effectively targeting the case management services to those with greater service needs would enable agencies to use both types of social services to help fulfill the expectation that, under the JOBS program, public welfare agencies would "support and strengthen a client's motivation and capacity to strive for and achieve self-sufficiency" (Institute for Family Self-Sufficiency, 1992, p. 37).

Planning for Services—Assessment and Employability Plan. Some of the widest variation across states was found in the assessment process. The findings suggest that, during the assessment, workers in all states attend to the clients' educational skills, their child care needs, and their prior work experience. Other factors that might impinge on a client's ability to participate in the JOBS program or on development of an appropriate service plan received less attention. Beyond this, there seemed to be relatively little commonality in factors workers considered important in the assessment.

Overall, workers reported giving relatively little attention to the needs of children, other than child care, and the assessment process was generally not viewed as an opportunity to potentially address the health needs of poor children. While there were encouraging exceptions, these findings, which parallel earlier findings (Hagen & Lurie, 1992b, p. 109), suggest that the potential for operating a two-generational preventive program under JOBS (Smith, Blank, & Bond, 1990) is yet not being extensively initiated during the assessment process.

The attention to substance abuse was another area reflecting wide differences among workers in different states. Given the extent of substance abuse within the general population as well as its effect on any type of education, training, or employment activity, agencies may wish to give greater attention to this area in their assessment process. To accomplish this, additional training of most front-line workers will be required. In addition, while information regarding a client's or her children's needs in such areas as health, substance abuse, or disruptive interpersonal relationships may well have an important bearing on designing services for a client, for the assessment of these and other areas to be meaningful, access to resources to help address these problems must be identified and secured for JOBS participants.

Accessing Services. In general, the findings suggest that workers did not perceive major constraints in locating child care providers. However, workers in small, more rural communities viewed the supply of child care providers as an issue in serving JOBS participants. In some areas, this concern was compounded by the lack of available transportation or the lack of funding for transportation. Without transportation, the child care provider may be available, but not accessible to the client and her child. As noted in the field network research on the local sites, the lack of funding for transportation or the lack of available transportation within a community limits clients' access to child care providers as well as to education and training opportunities. Although child care providers may be available in sufficient numbers within a community to meet the needs of JOBS participants, transportation problems interfere with accessing those services and, thus, hinder participation in the JOBS program.

The findings suggest that in most agencies, the preference is for clients to make use of more formal child care services, but clients are encouraged to make their own arrangements for child care services. Whether this reflects a strong commitment to parental choice combined with services to help a client choose care or a more general lack of assistance in arranging child care was unclear. However, with the exception of states

in which child care management systems were introduced in conjunction with the JOBS program, the use of child care resource and referral agencies was somewhat limited. Thus, in many instances, any assistance with child care arrangements must be provided by the JOBS workers.

In contrast to suggestions of service shortages found in other studies (General Accounting Office, 1991), the findings here suggest that, from the perspective of the front-line workers, the supply of most education, training, and employment services in their communities was adequate to serve JOBS participants at the time of the study. Front-line workers perceived most services offered under JOBS as being available within their communities. Occasionally limited slots were noted for ESL, work experience, and job development and placement services. The availability of on-the-job training and work supplementation programs was severely limited, but expected, given the lack of expenditures for these services under the JOBS program (Hagen & Lurie, 1992b, p. 67).

In evaluating the workers' perception of service adequacy, we must remember one critically important consideration: at the time of the study, the federal participation rate for the JOBS program was seven percent of the non-exempt AFDC caseload. For most states in this study, meeting this rate of participation was not a major challenge because they already had well developed welfare employment programs. Additionally, in states with new programs, clients were only beginning to flow through the JOBS program, and many were at the assessment and employability planning stage rather than assigned to a particular educational, training, or employment activity. A final consideration is that workers may well be "fitting" clients to those services that are readily available in their communities rather than exploring a wider range of education and training activities that may more appropriately meet the needs and preferences of their clients. In effect, workers may well have been drawing on services, particularly education, readily available in their communities at the time of the study, but those services were being accessed by a relatively small portion of potential JOBS participants and may not have been the services most appropriate to meet the education and training needs of their clients.

CONCLUSION

As a group that strongly supports the goals of the federal legislation, front-line workers represent a potentially significant resource for realizing those goals. But to enable them to serve their clients effectively, agencies must be willing to invest in the workers. Many of these workers are relatively low paid, particularly given the complex nature of their work. While satisfied with their jobs, workers expressed troubling levels of low morale, a factor strongly influenced by the organizational climate. Additionally, and more immediately related to the implementation of the JOBS program, these workers are interested in further in-service training about all aspects of the JOBS program and methods for working more effectively with clients. These needs for training can be met with relatively low investments of resources.

Agencies and their funding bodies also need to invest in funding for education, training, and employment services so that workers indeed have opportunities to offer JOBS clients. The workers' concerns about inadequate funding for JOBS services are shared by many. Without sufficient funding, the availability, the quality, and the appropriateness of services may be compromised under the JOBS program. At the time of the study, when relatively small numbers of recipients were participating in the JOBS program, workers did report that services (except on-the-job training and work supplementation) were generally available within their communities to serve JOBS participants. This situation may not continue as clients are processed beyond the assessment stage into service components and as the participation rates for the JOBS program increase. Increasing demands to provide services for clients may soon exceed the capacity of local community agencies to respond if more funding for services is not secured.

An examination of the workers' perspective on JOBS implementation serves to identify areas of both strength and weakness in existing programs. As gatekeepers to JOBS programs across the country and as brokers of services, front-line workers have an understanding of the daily operations of a complex program. Their perspective on welfare employment programs merits additional attention as these programs continue to evolve. Several areas are of particular interest. One area for further research is the workers' ability to access services on behalf of clients as the participation rates increase and more clients are processed into JOBS service components. The assessment process and the subsequent employability plan require further investigation to understand the

tremendous variability in the assessment as well as the decision-making process involved in planning and accessing services for clients. Additional research on the functions of case managers is also required. To date, the use of case management in public welfare agencies has not been well defined, but the expectations for case managers are extremely high. Without additional clarity and understanding of the role and functions of case managers, the risk of inaccurately concluding that a social service strategy has no place in the provision of education and training services to welfare recipients is extremely high.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Data Collection for the JOBS Worker Survey

	# Distributed	# Returned	Return Rate
Maryland	181	130	72%
Baltimore	128	97	76%
Anne Arundel	38	24	63%
Dorchester	15	9	60%
Michigan	100	60	60%
Wayne	57	21	37%
Kalamazoo	18	18	100%
Tuscola	25	21	84%
Minnesota	234	147	63%
Hennepin	211	128	61%
Blue Earth	9	7	78%
Itasca	14	12	86%
Mississippi	100	100	100%
Hinds	57	57	100%
Harrison	37	37	100%
Quitman	6	6	100%
New York	64	52	81%
NYC		(Cancelled)	
Oneida	36	29	81%
Franklin	28	23	82%
Oklahoma	81	72	89%
Tulsa	46	37	80%
Carter	17	17	100%
LeFlore	18	18	100%
Oregon	68	59	87%
Springfield	35	29	83%
Medford	25	23	92%
LaGrande	8	7	88%

(Appendix A continued on next page.)

Appendix A (continued)
Data Collection for the JOBS Worker Survey

	# Distributed	# Returned	Return Rate
Pennsylvania	155	83	54%
Philadelphia	65	20	31%
Blair	70	45	64%
Clinton	20	18	90%
Tennessee	194	89	46%
Davidson	132	44(+6)	33%
Sullivan	40	24	60%
Gibson	22	15	68%
Texas	195	151	77%
Harris	120	88	73%
Nueces	54	45	83%
Bee	21	18	86%
Ten States	1,372	943*	68.7%

* Total usable: 929. Fourteen returned questionnaires were unusable.

Appendix B
Salaries of Front-line Workers* (All Respondents: N=929)

States	Less Than $20,000	$20,001-$25,000	$25,001+
Maryland	8.5	75.4	16.1
Michigan	0.0	11.5	88.4
Minnesota	20.0	40.7	39.2
Mississippi	91.3	4.9	3.7
New York	80.4	19.6	0.0
Oklahoma	24.6	66.7	8.8
Oregon	20.4	48.1	31.5
Pennsylvania	1.5	36.9	61.6
Tennessee	55.6	37.0	7.4
Texas	49.2	43.5	7.2
All Respondents	34.7	41.2	24.2

* Figures reflect percentage.

Appendix C
Educational Attainment of Front-line Workers* (All Respondents: N=929)

States	High School	AA/AS	BA/BS/BSW	MA/MS/MSW	Other
Maryland	19.2	28.5	36.9	3.8	11.5
Michigan	30.5	16.9	30.5	13.6	8.5
Minnesota	20.4	11.6	48.9	11.6	7.5
Mississippi	2.2	25.0	44.6	8.7	19.6
New York	23.1	34.6	25.0	1.9	15.4
Oklahoma	2.8	2.8	62.5	8.3	23.6
Oregon	17.9	8.9	55.4	8.9	8.9
Pennsylvania	33.8	14.3	31.2	2.6	18.2
Tennessee	5.7	1.1	72.4	8.0	12.6
Texas	13.0	15.1	49.3	6.2	16.4
All Respondents	16.2	15.9	46.5	7.4	13.9

* Figures reflect percentage.

Appendix D
Organizational Base of Surveyed Front-line Workers by State

	JTPA[1]	WELFARE	CBO[2]	OTHER	SUBTOTAL
Maryland	17 %	83 %	0 %	0 %	13.8 %
Michigan	0	100	0	0	7.1
Minnesota	0	68	30	2	14.7
Mississippi	5	87	8	0	10.3
New York	18	82	0	0	6.2
Oklahoma	0	100	0	0	7.2
Oregon	30	61	9	0	7.1
Pennsylvania	2	98	0	0	7.4
Tennessee	5	78	15	3	9.4
Texas	16	76	4	4	16.9
Ten States:	9.4	81.4	7.9	1.2	100.0 *

* Total valid survey cases: 929. Missing information: 122 responses.
1 JTPA: Job Training Partnership Act (1982).
2 CBO: Community Based Organizations.

Appendix E
Workers' Experience of Work Environment, Caseload, and Time Allocation (All Respondents)

Survey Item	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Total
Overall Job Satisfaction (% satisfied)	50	46	53	47	48	55	79	54	56	59	54
Work Morale in the Agency (% high)	2	7	9	13	10	6	30	9	13	16	11
Length of Employment in the Agency (mean in years)	9	12	6	5	8	7	8	11	6	6	7
Average Monthly Caseload (mean)	180	196	123	279	139	80	110	218	149	161	164
Workers' Weekly Time Allocation (% of time spent in the activity)											
Direct contact w/clients in person or by phone	48	41	35	46	45	34	43	34	48	53	43
Direct contact w/other staff in the agency	14	15	11	14	13	14	17	9	10	12	13
Collaborative work w/other community agencies	9	7	5	7	9	6	8	7	6	7	7
Required data entry, report completion, and other paperwork	37	42	45	42	40	45	31	50	34	29	39

Appendix F-1
Workers' Perceptions of Welfare Dependency*

Survey Item		Percent Agreeing
V01	When people have been on welfare for a long time, many have little desire to improve themselves.	58.6
V02	Many welfare recipients come from groups in our society where it is no shame to be on welfare.	56.9
V03	Many people on welfare could get off welfare if they really looked hard for a job.	41.8
V04	If we give welfare recipients more choices about the services they will receive from welfare, many will NOT use these choices wisely.	38.0
V05	Many people who apply for welfare would rather be on welfare than work to support their family.	30.3
V06	People end up on welfare because they use their opportunities poorly, not because they don't have opportunities.	27.9
V07	If given appropriate help, many welfare recipients would work hard to become self-supporting.	51.2
V08	When they get jobs, welfare recipients are as hard working as other employees.	47.2
V09	Many welfare recipients feel badly about themselves because they are on welfare.	42.4
V10	When they first enter the JOBS program, many recipients feel that having a regular job is an important goal in their lives.	40.9

* The scale for these questions consists of five categories, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). In the current table, we combined answers of both (4) agree and (5) strongly agree in the statistics.

Appendix F-2
Workers' Perceptions of Welfare Recipients by State: Percent High On the Perspective*

States	"Welfare is the consequence of broad societal or situational problems, not the fault of the clients."
Minnesota	65.7
Texas	58.1
Maryland	55.6
Oregon	53.4
Pennsylvania	42.3
Oklahoma	37.1
Michigan	36.8
Tennessee	33.3
Mississippi	30.5
New York	20.0
All Respondents	46.8

* The scale contains ten items and is constructed by using a simple summation statistical technique. All respondents with a score above the midpoint of the distribution of scores for the full sample (N=929) were defined as having "high" scores.

Appendix G
Workers' Experience in JOBS Programs and Client Participation

Survey Item	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Total
Client Participation											
Agency encourages not to be lenient (% agreeing)	35	49	48	50	54	58	40	38	14	44	43
Agency encourages the use of sanctioning (% agreeing)	70	48	60	77	71	24	69	39	14	66	53
Conciliation emphasizes removing barriers (% agreeing)	62	21	35	50	32	31	53	40	44	34	40
Conciliation emphasizes obligation (% agreeing)	17	23	38	0	55	29	15	37	26	29	28
Agency is likely to impose sanctions (% agreeing)	77	76	79	67	74	29	71	69	22	65	64
Percent referred for conciliation (mean)	37	21	14	15	31	9	19	32	14	18	20
Percent actually sanctioned (mean)	15	10	11	13	11	2	7	8	2	16	10
Perspective on JOBS (% agreeing)											
Agency emphasizes obligation to participate	32	35	30	29	17	41	14	43	6	18	26
Agency emphasizes available opportunities	42	29	39	57	44	25	60	31	74	59	46
JOBS is helpful in getting clients off welfare	53	47	50	50	38	54	52	38	48	65	51

Appendix H
Workers' Perceptions of Goals for JOBS—Agency's Emphasis vs. Workers' Emphasis

Survey Item	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Over All
Agency's Emphasis (% agreeing)											
Improve clients' skills for future jobs	74	68	61	100	87	72	70	49	74	69	69
Promote a partnership between the agency and the client	49	33	30	31	39	29	61	31	37	50	40
Make participation mandatory rather than voluntary for non-exempt clients	66	50	40	69	60	46	33	40	16	46	44
Design services to meet the unique needs of the participant and her family	42	39	40	31	32	26	44	29	39	46	39
Get clients into unsubsidized jobs quickly	37	33	27	0	20	29	30	14	24	34	28
Support the client's own goals for self-sufficiency	52	61	50	39	51	54	54	48	54	62	54
Workers' Emphasis (% agreeing)											
Improve clients' skills for future jobs	95	89	96	100	92	97	93	87	89	93	93
Promote a partnership between the agency and the client	80	67	61	79	51	74	88	58	63	79	70

Appendix H (continued)
Workers' Perceptions of Goals for JOBS—Agency's Emphasis vs. Workers' Emphasis

Survey Item	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Over All
Worker's Emphasis (continued)											
Make participation mandatory rather than voluntary for non-exempt clients	70	74	56	86	78	60	65	50	65	62	63
Design services to meet the unique needs of the participant and her family	79	82	84	86	70	74	88	73	74	76	78
Get clients into unsubsidized jobs quickly	66	69	49	43	57	54	63	50	52	62	57
Support the client's own goals for self-sufficiency	86	76	87	93	84	81	72	86	80	86	83

Appendix I
Workers' Perceptions of Barriers to Implementing JOBS by State

Barrier*	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Total
Inadequate funding for education and training services	92	68	71	92	48	52	62	72	62	82	71
Lack of employment opportunities in the community	85	63	54	92	74	56	77	74	67	79	70
Inadequate funding for child care	89	66	72	71	52	40	55	45	59	72	65
Inadequate funding for transportation	66	64	49	100	45	57	44	38	59	76	58
Lack of child care providers	90	63	49	100	63	31	49	52	57	66	59
Inadequate staffing for JOBS program in the agency	57	68	44	75	64	38	70	36	43	69	55
Lack of available transportation in the community	46	48	32	100	50	61	48	49	64	65	52
Lack of available education and training services in the community	84	36	24	83	38	36	52	54	53	73	52
Lack of staff knowledge about the JOBS program	58	33	46	36	45	37	38	35	48	59	46
Agency rules and regulations too complex to implement properly	41	36	40	67	30	42	38	38	29	34	38
Unrealistic expectations for most clients	55	26	21	50	39	23	28	30	28	44	33

Appendix I (continued)
Workers' Perceptions of Barriers to Implementing JOBS by State

Barrier*	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Total
Requiring 20 hours of JOBS activityleads to assignment of unnecessaryor inappropriate services	54	17	26	75	56	11	18	25	35	40	33

* Percent agreeing with the statement as important barrier to implementing JOBS.

Appendix J
Case Managers' Perceptions and Experience of Case Management in JOBS (N=280)

Survey Item	MD	MI	MN	MS	NY	OK	OR	PA	TN	TX	Over All
Case Management Services for JOBS											
Case management is successful in promoting and fostering on-going client participation in JOBS (% agreeing)	44	46	68	30	73	19	47	71	86	64	64
Case management is successful in helping clients to achieve their goals (% agreeing)	39	39	74	30	55	24	50	86	100	60	51
Average monthly number of cases responsible as a case manager	191	197	48	178	141	80	71	201	26	91	106
Working With Other Agencies (% agreeing)											
Agencies willingly serve JOBS clients in the community	33	100	86	40	64	73	69	83	89	74	71
Monitoring											
Percent of weekly work time spent in monitoring clients (mean)	36	35	33	63	38	16	24	50	32	47	35
Agency's procedures are effective for monitoring clients (% agreeing)	47	62	41	33	73	19	49	67	75	55	47
JOBS clients are being monitored closely (% agreeing)	46	64	49	20	91	19	49	67	88	62	50